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in 2013

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and hero

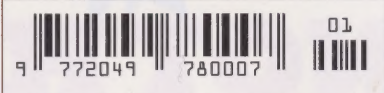
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# HOPE not hate

Providing a positive  
antidote to hate and  
intolerance

January-February 2014

Issue no. 12 Price £3.50



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# HOPE not hate

An anti-fascist and  
anti-racist publication  
January-February 2014

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HOPE not hate is a bi-monthly  
publication providing information on  
hate groups and community initiatives  
to combat them.

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## Nick Lowles

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## New year, new challenges

As we enter 2014, HOPE not hate is beginning to turn its attention to May's European and local elections when we will finally have the opportunity to kick Nick Griffin and Andrew Brons out and see off the remaining BNP councillors. After four long years, and through the hard work of thousands of our supporters, the BNP will have no elected officials.

This will motivate and delight our supporters but our celebrations will be tempered by the rise of the UK Independence Party (UKIP) with its increasingly anti-immigrant tone. Polls suggest that UKIP could come first in the European elections and win hundreds of local councillors around the country. If that is not bad enough, their gains – coming just a year before the next General Election – will swing the whole centre of political gravity to the right.

This issue of HOPE not hate maps out our election strategy. It is an ambitious campaign plan and it will be our biggest to date. And it needs to be. The daily outpouring of racist and anti-immigrant bile from our newspapers is laying the foundations for UKIP gains. In the absence of any meaningful resistance from our mainstream parties it will be left to groups like HOPE not hate to push back against this anti-migrant moral panic and defend the Britain we want to live in.

### STATE OF HATE

This issue also contains our round-up of far right groups. The continuing electoral and political decline of the BNP, coupled with Stephen Lennon leaving the English Defence League, reflects the decline in strength and membership of the traditional British far right. In fact, the far right is probably at its weakest for more than 30 years and while that should be celebrated the threat cannot be ignored.

As the far right declines it splinters into more extreme and unpredictable groups and violence could well increase.

### HOPE WON

Last month Michael Adebolajo and Michael Adebawale were found guilty of murdering soldier Lee Rigby on the streets of London. There was no excuse for this outrageous and despicable murder and HOPE not hate welcomes the guilty verdicts.

The killers of Lee Rigby hoped that Britain would descend into religious conflict. They were joined by the racists and Islamophobes of the EDL who, likewise, tried to whip up hatred and violence against all Muslims.

But they both failed. Britons – of all colours and religions – stood together and accepted that these were the actions of a small group of extremists. And in doing so, the British public were also saying that the extremists are the few and we – We Are The Many.

### A PASSING OF A LEGEND

HOPE not hate was overwhelmed by the messages of sadness and joy from our supporters as we mourned the loss of Nelson Mandela.

Now, we must take time from our remembrances to consider how we can build a future worthy of this great man's memory. Our duty is clear, and for guidance we must look no further than the words of Mandela himself:

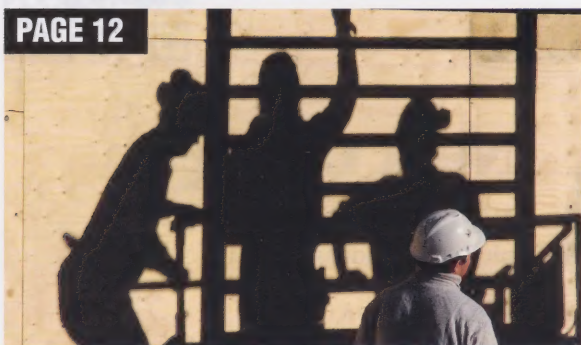
"Our work is for freedom for all ... We say tonight, after nearly 90 years of life, it is time for new hands to lift the burdens. It is in your hands now."

We mourn the passing of the greatest and most inspirational man of our generation but at the same time we have made the promise to celebrate his contribution by continuing to build a movement which honours his vision of equality, tolerance and reconciliation. ●



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### HOME NEWS: OUTLINING THE HOPE NOT HATE CAMPAIGN IN 2014

**HOPE not hate challenges the politics of hate and organised intolerance within society.**

Initially established to counter the electoral rise of the BNP, HOPE not hate mobilises communities by providing a positive alternative to the politics of hate. Since it was founded in 2004, HOPE not hate has over 165,000 online supporters and over 60,000 followers on Facebook.

We are not aligned to any political party and will work with everyone wherever possible.

HOPE not hate comprises HOPE not hate Ltd and our charitable wing, HOPE not hate Educational Ltd.

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### FRANCES O'GRADY

TUC General Secretary  
Frances O'Grady demands  
better protection at work for  
migrant workers.



### RAMONA CONSTANTIN

A Romanian migrant,  
talks to HOPE not hate  
about her struggle to be  
accepted in the UK.



### JUSTIN CHADWICK

Director Justin Chadwick  
talks to HOPE not hate  
about his new film about  
Nelson Mandela, A Long  
Walk To Freedom.



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## Family fight BNP for will money

TWO BROTHERS from the North East have taken the BNP to court in an attempt to rescue a huge sum of money left to the party when their father died.

Joseph Robson, an expat who lived in Alicante, Spain, left his entire estate of £389,000 to the far right party when he died at the age of 81 in 2010.

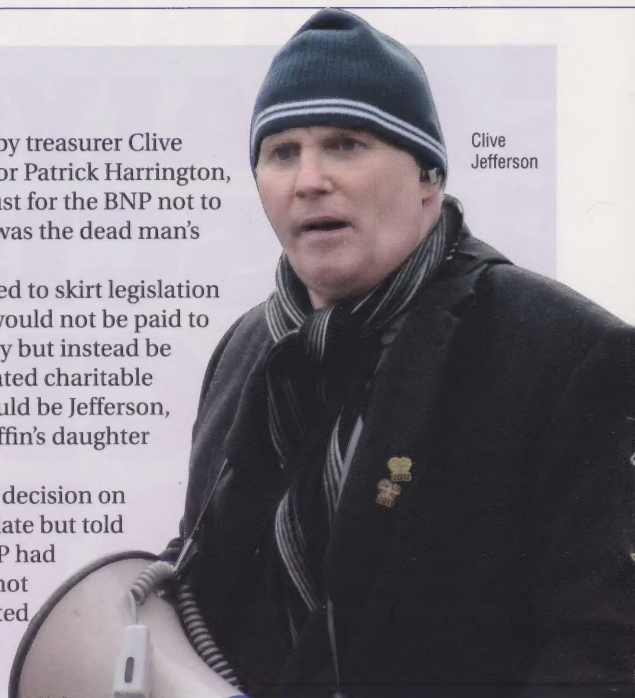
After his death, the two sons launched a legal challenge to the will, claiming their father was barred from donating his money to a political party as he had not been a registered UK voter in the five years before his death.

Judge Richard Sheldon QC heard that Joseph Robson moved to Spain following his retirement in 1992. He made a will in 1996, leaving the whole of his estate to the BNP, apart from a Spanish bank account containing just £135, which he bequeathed to his estranged sons.

The BNP, represented by treasurer Clive Jefferson and legal advisor Patrick Harrington, claimed it would be unjust for the BNP not to receive the fortune as it was the dead man's final wish.

The party has attempted to skirt legislation by claiming the money would not be paid to the political party directly but instead be paid into a specially-created charitable trust, whose trustees would be Jefferson, Harrington and Nick Griffin's daughter Jennifer Matthys.

The judge reserved his decision on the dispute until a later date but told the court that: "If the BNP had investigated whether or not Mr Robson was a permitted donor there would be no need for this hearing."



Clive Jefferson

## Islamic extremists target Brick Lane

A GROUP of Islamic extremists led by head troublemaker Anjem Choudary held a march in Brick Lane in December, ordering local businesses and shopkeepers to stop selling alcohol.

Choudary warned shopkeepers to "fear Allah", while Abu Baraa, one of the organisers from Whitechapel, said Muslims who sell alcohol were "corrupting young people".

The march was organised by The Sharia Project, a group mentored by Choudary, and saw them handing out controversial letters telling business owners that they could receive 40 lashes if they continue to sell alcohol.

There were a couple of old faces on the demo. One was Simon Keelar and the other Michael Coe, who now goes by the name of Mikael Ibrahim. Coe has just come out of prison after serving a sentence for shooting police officers in Leeds.

Around 50 Islamists attended the march which was initially delayed by a tiny counter demonstration of EDL/Britain First supporters.



## Civil war erupts in the NF

OVER THE YEARS we have witnessed numerous fallouts and leadership battles within The National Front.

Who could possibly forget the infighting in 1989 that witnessed two rival factions of the NF stand against each other in the Vauxhall by-election with both sides trading insults and punches at the election count?

So it should come as no surprise that there is a new internal battle erupting within the party, splitting the NF into two halves.

One faction, led by former NF chairman Ian Edward, has seized control of the official National Front website, changing the hosting company, removing most of the content and changing passwords.

Edward resigned his position as NF chairman earlier in the year with Kevin Bryan being chosen to be new party leader.

Bryan claims that Edward, along with Bernadette Jagers and Steve Rowland, has been causing trouble for the party.

Edward is still officially registered as chairman and nominating officer with the Electoral Commission and has refused to remove himself.

The faction led by Kevin Bryan has



submitted new paperwork naming Bryan as the new chairman and Aberdeen's Dave McDonald as Nominating Officer, yet The Electoral Commission have refused to accept the changes until Ian Edward signs the relevant forms.

Steve Rowland has been keeping himself busy in the background ringing around the various members in an attempt to drum up support for the Ian Edward group.

It is claiming the support of six branches yet this figure has been disputed by Kevin Bryan.

## EDL founder admits fraud

THE FOUNDER and former leader of the English Defence League, Stephen Lennon aka Tommy Robinson, has pleaded guilty to mortgage fraud offences.

Lennon admitted to two counts of conspiring with others to obtain a mortgage by misrepresentation from the

Abbey and Halifax building societies in 2009.

He was told that he faces a possible prison sentence when he appears in court at the start of 2014.

Lennon was among six people to be charged following a fraud investigation by Bedfordshire Police.



## EDL fire bombers jailed



Clive Cerrone and Ashley Juggins

TWO FAR RIGHT extremists from the EDL have been jailed for petrol bombing a Gloucester mosque in a revenge attack following the brutal death of Drummer Lee Rigby.

Security guard Clive Cerrone, 37, was jailed for four and a half years for the attack with his protégé, 20-year-old Ashley Juggins, receiving three-and-a-half years.

Cerrone, from Gloucester, and Juggins from Cheltenham, both pleaded guilty to arson.

The two men drove to the Masjid-E-Noor mosque following evening prayers in June and waited until 12.50 am in Cerrone's car.

Juggins poured out a can of petrol in the entranceway of the mosque and set it alight using a burning envelope. The pair then made their escape in the car.

A passing motorist managed to put out the fire with a fire extinguisher as local residents attempted in vain to fight the fire with buckets of water.

The judge told Cerrone: "I have no doubt that you have an enduring hatred for followers of Islam and you are quite unwilling or unable to differentiate between the tiny minority who have extremist views and the vast majority of law abiding citizens who, for instance, worship at the Gloucester mosque.

'In short, your views are or were equally extreme as the various persons you sought revenge against.

'Such extremist views when they lead to activity of this kind destabilise the community, breed distress and very often destroy bridge building. This is precisely what extremists want.'

As well as being a member of the EDL, Cerrone is also listed as being the Gloucester contact for The New British Union, the tin pot group setup by former Scottish BNP organiser Gary Raikes.

## Rise in anti-Muslim attacks followed Lee Rigby murder

THE MURDER of Lee Rigby was followed by a spike in anti-Muslim and hate crimes in the UK, according to police figures and monitoring by Tell Mama.

The Metropolitan Police alone recorded more than 500 anti-Muslim crimes during 2013, with other forces nationally reporting a surge in hate crimes following the Woolwich murder.

Tell Mama, which monitors anti-Muslim incidents and is run by Faith Matters, has recorded more than 800 cases since April 2013, and expects the figure to top 1,000 by March. In contrast, the figure for the same period for 2012-2013 was 582.

Speaking to HOPE not hate about the rise in anti-Muslim incidents, Fiyaz Mughal, director of Faith Matters, said they could not simply be put down to the murder of Lee Rigby.

"These major spikes do not happen unless there is some kind of base activity of anti-Muslim hate taking place – a kind of a 'background noise,' a phrase accurately used by Dr Chris Allen of Birmingham University. Certain newspaper reports have caricatured Muslims as being hateful, malign and a threat to democracy, while social media and Twitter and Facebook in particular, have been used by far right groups like the EDL and others to promote online grotesque images of Muslims which pander to the fears of some within communities."

He said that members of the Muslim community had developed a "cautionary" approach to reporting hate crime, adding: "This means that they are less likely to feel comfortable providing personal information and this is a hindrance to hate crime reporting. This is more so the case for Muslim males from focus group work that we have done. Many sadly feel that nothing will come of their report or that they are wasting police time and some are not even aware that they can report in hate crimes."

He added: "Some of the worst online Twitter accounts that have been promoting hate for years are still running and this is unacceptable, when members of the public have sent reports to us and we have sent them on to the police. It does not provide confidence to members of the public and this starts to break down confidence in the police. Police training on spotting what is anti-Muslim rhetoric and language is also needed and we have offered our support on this.

"At a Muslim community level, Muslim organisations need to be better co-ordinated in reporting hate incidents and in supporting such work. Many times such organisations have asked for government and police action on anti-Muslim hate crimes and done little themselves and this is a call for them to engage on the agenda and take some tangible co-ordinated action with organisations that are doing so."



Photo: Tell Mama

- Home news is collated and updated on a daily basis at [www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/news/) scan the QR code to see the latest >>
- Feature: The state of hate in 2013 page 24





## AUSTRIA | Innsbruck out against fascism

FROM MARTIN JORDAN IN INNSBRUCK

AT LEAST 2,000 people answered the call of the Innsbruck against Fascism alliance to rally against a gathering of far right student fraternities – infamous for their duelling and drinking antics – in the Tyrol's capital on 30 November 2013. Two days of protests and a mass rally marked the city's strong stance against right-wing extremists.

To the despair of the meeting's Deutsche Burschenschaft organisers, Innsbruck's prestigious convention centre cancelled their event at short notice after intense political pressure from local citizens' initiatives. The city's taxi drivers also weighed in, refusing service to the motley crew of about 150 student pan-German nationalists who held their get-together at a private location. At the end of the day, the battle-scarred academic fencers complained that they had been victims of "left-wing fascists" who had gone on a "manhunt".



## FRANCE | Catholics conservative but reject FN

FROM JEAN-YVES CAMUS IN PARIS

A SURVEY of political attitudes among observant Catholics by the Paradox'Opinion polling institute has confirmed that the overwhelming majority belong to the conservative right and are standing firm against the Front National (FN) and its leader Marine Le Pen.

In the 2012 Presidential ballot, 45% of Catholics voted for Nicolas Sarkozy, while 24% supported Socialist candidate François Hollande. 15.5% cast their votes for Le Pen, 2.5% below the national average FN vote. In 2013, according to Philippe Chriqui, Paradox'Opinion's CEO, only 7% of Catholics supported the Front National. Le Pen registers negative scores among 66% of Catholics, more than among the rest of the population (61%).

Chriqui explained that Catholics whose mindset is shaped by religion have many reasons to reject extremism. Among these: commitment to the European Union; positive attitudes to globalisation and free-market economics and favouring mainstream parties like the Union pour un Mouvement Populaire against outcast parties like the FN. He warns, though, that the situation might change, 46% saying they "do not believe anymore in the capacity of the right and the left to change politics". 41% say that Islam is a "threat to the West" and 37% think there are too many immigrants in France.



Front National leader Marine Le Pen

## SPAIN | BNP allies claim Spanish Gibraltar

SANDRA CORTÉS REPORTS FROM MADRID FOR ANTIFEIXISTES.ORG

A GANG OF masked fascists invaded and forced cancellation in November of an academic conference at the Algeciras Polytechnic at which Gibraltar's Chief minister Fabian Picardo was due to speak. The original demonstration, at a time of escalating tension between Spain and Gibraltar, gathered about 200 people, mostly fishermen whose livelihoods are under threat. Their protest was infiltrated by members of the fascist Liga Joven (Youth League) and the youth wing of the Republican Social Movement (MSR), a far right party belonging to the Alliance of European National Movements together with Nick Griffin's BNP.

Meanwhile, students at the Algeciras Faculty of Law have condemned the attack. The fascist disruption only involved 20 people yelling "Gibraltar Spanish" but the Liga Joven has provoked incidents in several Spanish cities recently. In October, 100 Liga Joven members rallied in Seville, opposed by about 300 anti-fascists who were repressively dealt with by the police. A month later, police arrested seven young anti-fascists at their homes for trying to prevent the fascist demonstration.

## BELGIUM | Francophone far right in unity move

BY WIM HAELSTERMAN FOR AFF-VERZET/RÉSISTANCES IN BRUSSELS

THE FRANCOPHONE far right in Belgium is trying to join forces for the May 2014 elections. These elections are important as Belgians will elect members of the European Parliament, the federal parliament (chamber and senate) and regional parliaments on the same day.

The Francophone extremists are struggling to survive after disappearing from the political landscape in the last five years. The Front National (FN) and its various rival factions went through an electoral nightmare in 2012 when Francophone far right parties and their candidates were erased in both Brussels and Wallonia and declared "clinically dead".

One of the last extreme rightist politicians standing, Charles Petitjean, leader of the Fédération des Nationalistes Wallons, is trying to fix up a bloc that will be an amalgam of far right personalities, movements and microscopic parties. It is unlikely Petitjean will be able to regroup the entire far right "community" under his new flag – Front Wallon – as rivalries between the many "leaders" continue to rage. His manoeuvre has so far only led to a lot of talk.





Jonas Åkerlund SD vice-president Photo: Expo

## SWEDEN | Sweden Democrats “zero tolerance” of racism exposed

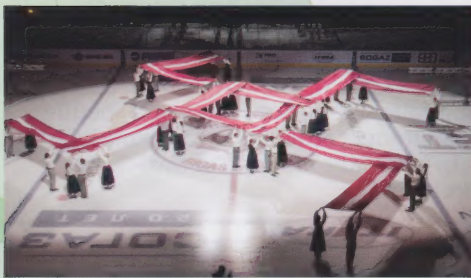
FROM DANIEL VERGARA FOR EXPO IN STOCKHOLM

IN OCTOBER 2012, after one Sweden Democrats (SD) politician after another was exposed for expressing violent and racist slurs, party leader Jimmie Åkesson promised “zero tolerance” of racism. This much trumpeted policy has been criticised for being used selectively. This became even more obvious after the daily paper *Aftonbladet* revealed that in a radio broadcast, Jonas Åkerlund, the SD’s vice-president, had called immigrants “parasites” and urged their deportation. In spite of that, Åkerlund was re-elected vice-president last month.

The SD’s doublespeak was also highlighted when the anti-fascist magazine *Expo* published recordings from a party meeting at which party ideologue Mattias

Karlsson, one of Åkesson’s closest allies, discussed the “zero tolerance” policy.

“I don’t think you have to worry as long as you use your common sense and try not to continuously promote racist, nazi or anti-democratic ideas, thoughts or articles,” he said. Taking his cue, SD MP Richard Jomshof regaled the public with the case of a local politician expelled from the SD after claiming that homosexuality was unnatural and that homosexuals should be castrated. Jomshof stated that the problem was not the SD politician’s views. “You can think what you want about homosexuality... but you can’t talk like that. We need to understand that the words we choose are most important”, he said.



## LATVIA | Latvians flaunt swastika

BY GRAEME ATKINSON & MONICA LOWENBERG, *DEFENDINGHISTORY.COM*

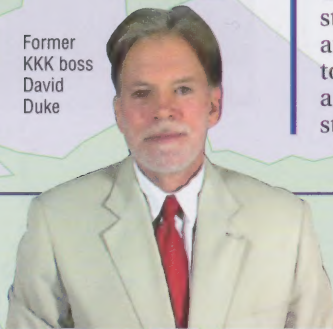
A DANCE ENSEMBLE of the Latvian armed forces displayed a Nazi swastika composed of Latvian national flags before an ice hockey match at the Riga Arena between Dinamo Riga and Jugra from Khanty-Mansiysk in western Siberia in the Continental Hockey League in November.

The performance was designed to celebrate the 95th anniversary of the Republic of Latvia. In recent years, there has been an ongoing worldwide struggle, backed by state and sports authorities, NGOs and sports fan clubs to expunge nazi and fascist symbols and racist and fascist behaviour from stadia. In Riga, however, the swastika

– a symbol of mass murder – was flaunted not by the fans or by the participants but by the host of the event and by a State Dancing Group, an insult to the guest team from Russia, 20m of whose citizens were killed as a result of Nazi aggression and terror.

Events like annual marches of Waffen SS veterans – tacitly supported by the Latvian state – and the dedication of monuments to collaborationists from Nazi SS units and Hitler’s auxiliary police, strongly suggest a rehabilitation of Nazism are not new in Latvia. Incredibly, Riga will be European Capital for Culture from January 2014.

Former KKK boss David Duke



## ITALY | Ku Klux Klown Duke expelled

FROM MICHELE ZACCHI IN ROME

ITALY HAS expelled former Ku Klux Klan boss David Duke, 63, for trying to establish a pan-European nazi group there.

An Italian court in Belluno declared that Duke, a notorious nazi and Holocaust denier who ran for US presidency in 1992 and 1998, is “socially dangerous for his racist and antisemitic views” and backed enforcement of a Swiss travel and residence ban – valid across the whole Schengen area – against Duke.

According to Luciano Meneghetti, the deputy police chief in Belluno, Duke moved to the mountain village of Valle di Cadore after being granted a visa to study and write there by the Italian embassy in Malta.

When police discovered the Swiss ban, made in 2009, Duke lodged an appeal with the provincial administrative court to avoid expulsion. Duke was also ordered out of the Czech Republic in 2009 under suspicion of “promoting the launch of a movement for the suppression of human rights” and denying the Holocaust.

## HUNGARY | Hungarian nazis learn Greek

FROM ISTVÁN TÓTH IN BUDAPEST

HUNGARIAN fascists, discontented with the far-right Jobbik party, have established a new organisation called Hungarian Dawn (MH) in a bid to emulate their Greek nazi counterparts in Golden Dawn. Led by Andras Kisgergely, MH wants to create a Hungary based on Christian, national and social foundations and to create a “people’s movement” to achieve “political, economic and cultural independence”.

Key parts of MH’s heavily anti-banker, anti-EU and anti-immigrant programme set out the new party’s hate agenda against Roma, Jewish and Muslim people under the clapped-out fascist slogan “Hungary for the Hungarians” and together with demands that every ethnic Hungarian should own a gun. At the beginning of November, MH’s Jobbik rivals boosted their own far-right credentials by staging a ceremony to unveil a statue of wartime leader Miklos Horthy, who presided over the country’s alliance with Nazi Germany and who is held by many to be jointly responsible for the deportation of 437,000 Jews to Nazi death camps in 1944.

More than 500,000 Hungarian Jews perished during the Holocaust. Jobbik’s commemoration event sparked a protest demonstration by more than 1,000 people.

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■ Country in Focus: Serbia page 40





## CANADA | Nazi gets life for murder

SOURCE: CANADIAN PRESS

A SELF-PROCLAIMED white supremacist convicted of beating a man to death in Calgary has been sentenced to life in prison with no chance of parole for 13 years. Robert Reitmeier, 26, was found guilty of the murder, in October 2010, of Mark Mariani. Mariani was walking down an alley to his parked car when he was savagely kicked and beaten. The 47-year-old was frail with Crohn's disease and unable to defend himself. Fellow Nazi Tyler Sturup pleaded guilty to second-degree murder in March to the same crime and will spend at least 10 years in jail before he is eligible for parole. Reitmeier also faces a 10-year weapons prohibition should he be released from prison. He showed no emotion when he heard the sentence but Mariani's relatives gave victim impact statements at the sentencing hearing.

One family member stated: "I will never forgive you for what you've done. I won't lose sleep over you, because you're nothing." Sturup, who helped found the Western European Bloodline supremacist group, admitted in court that he had attacked Mariani for no reason.



Robert Reitmeier, self-proclaimed white supremacist

## LITHUANIA | More moves to rehabilitate Nazis

FROM GEOFF VASIL FOR *DEFENDINGHISTORY.COM* IN VILNIUS

FAR RIGHT ELEMENTS deep within the non-elected branches of the Lithuanian state and using the Orwellian-sounding name of the Centre for the Study of the Genocide and Resistance of the Inhabitants of Lithuania have allocated state funding to rebuild a memorial to fallen Lithuanian Nazi soldiers. First built in 1942, it was later condemned but never razed by the Soviet authorities after World War II, and eventually lost to the ravages of vandals, time and the elements in the Brezhnev era.

The monument to fallen Lithuanian Activist Front troops follows closely the designs of similar shrines to the Nazi cult of blood martyrs erected in Nazi Germany. The so-called Genocide Centre's own documents confirm that the memorial's designer, the convicted war criminal Guriy Kateshchenko, was involved in mass murder of Jews in Obeliai in north-eastern Lithuania.

Politicians and locals in Obeliai are seeking donations to rebuild the structure billed as a monument to fallen Lithuanian "freedom fighters" financed by citizens in early 1942. Kateshchenko's brother Ivan reportedly supplied construction materials for the original monument. According to local lore and Genocide Centre 'documentation', the Lithuanian Activist Front (LAF) in Obeliai was especially active, harbouring and abetting advance Nazi paratrooper scouts behind enemy lines for several weeks before the eruption of Nazi-Soviet hostilities in 1941.



1942 memorial to fallen Lithuanian Nazi soldiers

## USA | US hate crime statistics dangerously flawed

BY ERIC O'NEILL IN WASHINGTON DC

A RECENT PUBLIC document from the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) indicates that 5,796 hate crimes were reported in 2012 in the USA. This marks 7% fewer incidents than in 2011 and the lowest tally of hate crimes since official reporting began in 1991. The true extent of offences committed due to a victim's race, ethnicity, religion,

gender, sexual orientation, or national origin in the US, though, remains masked.

Rather than a sign of positive community relations and a decrease in bigotry, the "record low" statistics point to an ineffectual and highly flawed reporting procedure. Sharing of hate crime incidents with the FBI is only obligatory for county government level law enforcement. This means

both city and state police only share data voluntarily based on local political conditions. In the report only 13,022 policing agencies out of nearly 18,000 participated, almost 1,500 less than in 2011.

Texas – with a population of more than 26 million – showed a sizable decrease in hate crimes, a seemingly positive development but Dallas, Houston, San Antonio, El Paso, and Austin, which account for almost a quarter of the population of Texas, all declined to submit hate crime data to the FBI.





## Guest column...

# The Holocaust and the problem of human evil

by **Canon Albert Radcliffe**

NOTHING BRINGS the problem of human evil, ie "the *deliberate harming of human beings*", before our minds so devastatingly as the Shoah or Holocaust: those murderous events that Laurence Rees called "*the lowest act in all history*". Between 1941 and 1945 six million of Europe's 11 million Jews were systematically rounded up by the Nazis, robbed, appallingly mistreated, then put to death by shooting, gassing or worn down by relentless brutalisation. We remember them because as Elie Wiesel said: "*To forget is to kill twice*".

The Greek word *Holocaust* means the "whole burned offering" of the temple sacrifice but, in Israel, that is no longer thought appropriate. The Hebrew word *Shoah*, "catastrophe" is preferred.

History has seen many genocides but none as calculated, thorough and cynical as the Shoah.

I will explain the Holocaust as an "*organised convergence of ordinary human weaknesses and capacities for wrongdoing across a number of extreme situations*". How could it have happened? How were ordinary people turned into monsters who created the extermination or death camps?

Running these camps was entrusted to Himmler's *Schutzstaffel*, the SS, who contrived a trouble-free passage from arrival to death of Jewish men, women and children. When victims arrived in overloaded trains, they were reassured that the worst was over and that for health reasons they were going to the camp showers. The doors were locked, the gassing and the screaming began, and within 30 minutes their bodies were ready for cremation.

Józef Paczynski, a survivor, said: "*You become indifferent. A human being can get used to anything*".

### Super race

In his book, *Believe and Destroy, Intellectuals in the SS War Machine*, Christian Ingrao shows how many false ideas misled even the most educated Germans, among them the pseudo-science of racial theory which made history a Darwinian struggle between the strong and the weak, in which the Aryan super-race would triumph over the inferior Jews and Slavs.

To grow, evil needs psychological, spiritual and political power, which Hitler acquired. He joined a small, extreme right wing, Workers Party which became the *National Socialist German Workers Party*. Its programme demanded the revision of the Treaty of Versailles, return of the territories lost to France and Poland, and the unification of ethnic Germans in a Jew-free Reich.

When a Polish-Jewish student shot the third secretary in the German Embassy in Paris, Joseph Goebbels, the Minister of Propaganda, launched a pogrom in which 267 synagogues were destroyed, 7,500 shops looted, 30,000 Jews sent to concentration camps, and 91 killed.

Hitler's long-planned land empire in the east began with the invasion of Poland in September 1939. Three days later, special SS *Einsatzgruppen* ("Task Forces") began the mass-shooting of Jews.

The "Final Solution" began to take shape with the invasion of Russia in June 1941. Within two days Jews were being systematically killed by the *Einsatzgruppen* assisted by



Himmler's *Schutzstaffel*, the SS, who contrived a trouble-free passage from arrival to death of Jewish men, women and children

Lithuanian volunteers.

In the Shoah, every human faculty and institution became corrupted. With the death camps we see the corruption of reason and logic. The Nazis were not mad nor were they automatons. Given that the Nazi arguments were "morally crazy", programmes built on them, though vile, were still logically sound, a reminder that you and I need to keep our rational faculties morally and spiritually in good health.

In his book *The Moral Molecule* the neuroscientist Paul J. Zak has shown that our capacity for trust, love, empathy, and compassion is connected with the release in the brain of the hormone *Oxytocin*, "The Love Hormone". Zak rechristens it "The Moral Molecule" and argues for its involvement in human decision-making.

### Death camps

All social animals have distress calls which act as triggers for oxytocin production. So what blocked oxytocin production in the death camps? Part of the answer lies in another hormone, *Testosterone*, which is associated with the desire to punish as well

as in oxytocin also encouraging hostility to outsiders. However, the most effective SS strategy for inhibiting compassion was "distancing", separating executioners from their victims, geographically, personally, emotionally and situationally.

In addition, language itself became a distancing mechanism. The murder of Jews was only spoken of obliquely. *Endlösung*, the Final Solution, was a euphemism, as was the expression "sent east", east being where the death camps were. Euphemism is an effective defence against moral awakening.

In the Holocaust the Nazis had constructed a vast apparatus in which everyone was trapped. For the victims, the Holocaust was personal, for the perpetrators impersonal.

We owe to the experiments of Stanley Milgram and Philip Zimbardo the realisation that unquestioned authority in situations of helplessness can radically transform behaviour. Toivi Blatt, when asked what he had learned in surviving the death camps replied: "*None of us know ourselves*", and when someone was nice to him, he thought: "*How would they be in Sobibor?*" ●

■ **Albert Radcliffe** is a retired Residentiary Canon of Manchester Cathedral and a former Chairman of the Manchester Council of Christians and Jews.



# A 'perfect storm'

Political scapegoating for new Romanian and Bulgarian migrants to UK  
by *Dave Porter* and *Elisabeth Pop*



Dozens of cases have been found of Romanian citizens working in the construction industry and not being paid for their services  
Photo: Astrid Westvang

**T**he heated political and media debate over lifting the work restrictions for Romanians and Bulgarians in the New Year makes it very difficult for all but the most informed to separate fact from fiction.

But amid all the rhetoric and political mudslinging, there are two main conclusions which most commentators seem to agree on to some extent: that the relaxation of transitional arrangements for migrants from these 'A2' countries will clarify the status and improve the lives for those Romanians and Bulgarians already working in this country – sometimes being exploited in the black market.

The other 'fact' which everyone

agrees upon is that no one has any idea how many migrants will take up the chance to come and live and work in the UK. The fact that people from such accession countries now have 26 countries rather than just three to choose from makes this a huge guessing game for political pundits.

The waters are further muddled by the Immigration Bill which is currently working its way through Parliament and which seeks to restrict immigrants' rights, including those from the EU, to certain welfare and benefits such as housing while in the UK.

Matthew Evans, director of the AIRE Centre, a charity which advises EU rights and has a special focus on

migration and discrimination, told HOPE not hate: "I think the ending of the transitional arrangements is a perfect storm, in terms of UK elections in 2015, the proposed referendum on the EU, the government's natural antipathy to Europe and wider debate around EU free movement and it's incorrect conflation with immigration."

In terms of any possible impact on host communities, Matthew says it could be an issue for small towns but places such as Manchester and Ghent are shining examples of how positive outcomes can be achieved.

Professor Christian Dustmann, of the Centre for Research and Analysis of Migration at UCL, says that there



# awaits migrants

has been little migration to the UK from these two countries – it has been estimated that last year there were 47,000 Bulgarians living in Britain.

Speaking about the current political climate over immigrants, he told the BBC just this month: “Fears are very much spread by anecdotes and I think that is a problem we have in the current economic debate about immigration, as well as the political debate about immigration. What we are seeing is assessments based on case studies, on anecdotes, on things people experience – so that’s why we believe it is very important to bring the facts back to this debate, bring the numbers back to this debate, and that is what we are trying to do.”

Figures vary wildly on the numbers of Romanians and Bulgarians likely to enter the UK in 2014. Migration Watch puts it at 250,000 for the next five years, while a controversial American think tank has come up with a significantly higher figure of 385,000, without even sharing the methodology it used in coming up with this number. The UK government has declined to comment on numbers, while the respective governments in Romania and Bulgaria – while not giving official estimates – say the number will be dramatically lower.

EuroMove has noted that the two factors which led to an increase in migrants in 2004 (when accession was brought in) no longer apply – then the UK had a growing economy and a labour shortage. The effect of the recession and the heated political atmosphere may well put a stop on immigration, it suggests.

In terms of likely numbers, a recent paper by EuroMove on the relaxing of transitional arrangements states that the fact that the Labour government got its figures so wrong in 2004 – with an estimate of between 5,000 and 10,000 from the so-called ‘A8’ countries – accounts for the fact that many commentators and politicians are unwilling to now provide any ballpark figure for the A2 countries of Romania and Bulgaria.

Tellingly, a recent EuroMove paper states: “The key factor that will influence whether A2 nationals seek work in

the UK from the beginning of 2014 and beyond will be the likelihood of finding work in Britain compared to other countries to which they will have access. Unlike in 2004, the A2 migrants will have a wide choice of European countries to travel to in search of work as all EU Member States have already opened their borders or will do so on 1 January 2014.”

For example, there are estimated to be more than 1m Romanians currently living in both Italy and Spain, countries with whom they share a common language, culture and climate.

The issue of the relaxation of transitional controls is intimately bound up with the Immigration Bill currently going through Parliament and the government’s attempt to tighten up access to welfare benefits for newly-arrived immigrants. Up until 31 December this year, the government had restricted entry to the UK from A2 countries to areas of the economy where there was a skills shortage, such as seasonal fruit picking. However, the vast majority of Romanians living in Britain today work as highly skilled migrants holding Blue Residence Permits, as students on Yellow Permits or are already working here under their own steam, as self-employed people setting up their own businesses. From January, no work restrictions will be in place.

Many commentators agree that this new equal status will benefit migrants from Romania and Bulgaria who have been sucked into a black market of work in which they have little rights, no contracts and are paid cash in hand in a way that can only be described as exploitation.

A study by UCATT and the Community Links charity entitled ‘The Hidden Workforce Building Britain’ exposes such exploitation of vulnerable workers and migrants in the construction industry. It highlights the difficulties of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants who must have an Accession Worker Card in order to get a work permit, something employers are not keen to get involved in. This puts them in a particularly vulnerable position.



*The ending of transitional measures should mean better conditions for all workers in the UK. Employers will be less likely to get away with taking on Romanian and Bulgarian workers on bogus self-employed contracts to undercut other workers’ pay and conditions – something which has been a significant problem in construction and cleaning.*

*Romanian and Bulgarian workers will now have the same rights to access jobs as other EU citizens. But zero-hour contracts and falling real wages are now affecting everyone. Trade unions stand firmly against the government’s drive to blame Romanian and Bulgarian workers for the hardship their austerity agenda and tight-fisted employers have inflicted on people at work. Protection for all workers will only come through solidarity and investment in jobs-led growth.*



Frances O'Grady



It spotlights many case studies of such vulnerable Romanians and Bulgarians. Many are forced to turn up outside sites in the hope of getting a day's work if they are picked by a foreman. It quotes one 25-year-old Romanian as saying: "I'm always paid cash in hand and it's always less than the minimum wage. But I do it because I need to eat. I know it's bad but you have no choice."

"A guy picked me up here recently and told me he would pay me £40 for a day's labouring. At the end of the first day he only gave me £20 and said 'I will give you the rest tomorrow'. But he didn't come and get me the next day and I never saw him again and never got the money."

The Romanian Embassy in London told HOPE not hate that from 1 January 2014 we will not witness an invasion of the British shore, but an improved situation in the lives of Romanian students who are waiting a staggering six months for their Yellow permits, who are refused student loans because "there are too many applications made by Romanian nationals" or of those who are

exploited or discriminated against in the work place.

In the last two years alone they have worked closely with the Employment Agency Standards Inspectorate, the Gangmasters Licensing Authority and the Police on a number of cases – the fatal case of a Romanian construction worker, employed without a contract, who died on site in uncertain circumstances; dozen of cases of Romanian citizens working in the construction industry and not being paid for their services; the case of a number of Romanian citizens exploited by an employment agency in the cleaning industry; the case of two Romanians working in agriculture in conditions described as "modern slavery" and the case of a number of Romanian nationals who were offered perspectives of employment in health care, but once they paid their fees to the UK agency and moved over found themselves being offered jobs in hotel cleaning and car wash.

Mark English, head of media relations for the EC in London, told HOPE not hate that "The removal of labour market restrictions for Romanian and Bulgarian workers on 1 January 2014 means they will enjoy in the UK the same rights to seek employment and to work as other EU workers, including British workers. This will make it easier for them to defend themselves against exploitation, as they will freely be able to seek new employment and any that have been working illegally will now be able to work legally. Hence their position will be more secure and it will reduce vulnerability to illegal behaviour and intimidation by employers."

He went on to say that the Employment and Social Affairs Commissioner Laszlo Andor has repeatedly called on Member States to address human trafficking and exploitation, be it sexual or labour related, much more robustly. He welcomed the decision of the UK Government to come to grips with the issue and decide to put forward an anti-Slavery Bill.

Awale Olad, public affairs officer at the Migrants' Rights Network, says the key difference between Jan 2014 and 2004 is that whereas EU migrants had three countries to choose from nine years ago – the UK, Sweden and Ireland – now there is a choice of many different countries.

"In 2004 the UK was seen by many as the best place to go to. But now you've got 26 countries to choose from and the UK would probably not come top," he said.

## THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF EU IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN THE UK

# 34%

Eastern and Central European migrants contributed about 34% more in taxes than they received in benefits over the period 2001-11.

(UCL, 2013)

## THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ECONOMIC CONTRIBUTION OF ALL IMMIGRANTS LIVING IN THE UK

# 6.6%

Only 6.6% of those born abroad were receiving benefits, compared to 16.6% of UK nationals

(DWP, 2012)

## ROMANIA & BULGARIA FACT FILES

**ROMANIA** has a population of more than 19m and covers an area of some 237,000sq km. Its GDP is estimated at £277m and it has an inflation rate of 4.4%. It is the largest of the Balkan countries and is significantly bigger than its neighbour Bulgaria. Despite years of promising economic growth following the downfall of communism in eastern Europe, it has been badly affected by the downturn globally following the financial crash of 2009 and had to be bailed out by the IMF in 2010 with a \$20bn dollar loan.

Romania joined the EU in 2007 as part of the enlargement process into eastern Europe.

**BULGARIA** has had perhaps the most painful transition of all the former Communist bloc countries and today is one of the poorest countries in the EU, with crime and corruption hampering efforts towards economic progress.

With a population of more than 7m, Bulgaria saw marked growth before the collapse of 2009 but has since struggled to regain ground, with the economy estimated to be down by at least 5% because of the worldwide recession. It also joined the EU in 2007.

Sources: EuroMonitor; BBC





# 80%

Up to 80% of the Central and Eastern European citizens living and working in the UK are aged 18-34, working full-time in highly, medium and low skilled professions or setting up their own business. Only 0.8% have used their right to access social benefits and jobless EU migrants formed only 1.2% of the total UK population in 2012

(ICF GHK for EC, 2013)

## THE TRUTH ABOUT THE ROMANIAN AND BULGARIAN COMMUNITY IN UK

(Source: Romanian Embassy in London, Bulgarian Embassy in London, ONS data, DWP data, 2011 Census, Home Office immigration statistics, Metropolitan and British Police, all data valid as of 29 Aug 2013)

### BULGARIANS IN THE UK

- Up to 60,000 Bulgarians living in the UK, mostly in and around London
- The profile of the Bulgarian migrant is aged under 35, male and with an intermediate qualification
- Bulgarian migrants in the UK are concentrated in four sectors: hospitality, cleaning services, construction and trade
- At the end of 2012 there were less than 100 Bulgarians in detention in the UK
- At the end of 2012, only 238 Bulgarians were claiming child benefits.

### ROMANIAN IN THE UK

- Approx. 120,000 Romanians living in UK, spread all across the UK, with large concentrations in London (approx. 50,000) and in other urban areas such as Birmingham, Manchester, Liverpool, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Leeds and Belfast.
- In the top 15 nationalities with 2,000 doctors on the list of Registered Medical Practitioners in the UK.
- Given the tough work restrictions in place since 2007, around 75% of Romanians in the UK work in high and medium skilled jobs, including almost 3,000 nurses, more than 6,000 Romanian students, professors and researchers in British universities, as well as those working in IT, financial sector, the arts, social services, leisure and hospitality and sales.
- Romanians are the heart of the UK tech boom (The Independent, 29 Jun 2013) and were the largest non-British work force to build the Olympic Park and Olympic Village (out of the 8,465 work force, 60% were British and 8% were Romanian)
- National Farmers' Union and MPs from South West and East Anglia say if Romanians and Bulgarians, who account for about a third of the UK's seasonal farm workers, will stop employing their skills in the UK agriculture half of fruit and veg will not be delivered in time and will definitely get more expensive.
- 2/3 of Romanian migrants are aged 18-35. 55% are male. 62% have no dependents, 32% only have one child – only 328 Romanians have claimed child benefits at the end of 2012 out of a total of 40,171 EEA nationals claiming
- 9,540 Romanians were convicted of crimes in 2012 (out of 5.48 million crimes committed in England and Wales last year). At the end of 2012 there were 624 Romanians in detention in the UK, out of a total of 10,700 foreign nationals and a total prison population of 83,757.
- Only 10 Romanian nationals have been arrested on suspicion of murder in the last five years. Since 2007, only 19 people have been arrested on charges of benefits fraud, and only three have been prosecuted.

# 14.5%

14.5% of the UK's working age population was born abroad

(LSE, 2012)

# £16b

migrants make a net contribution of 1.02 % of the GDP which is £16.2 billion financial benefit to the UK economy

(OECD, 2013)



# £33m

£33m spent in 2012 on treating foreign nationals, £21m of which was recovered. £12million, or 0.01% of the health service's £109billion annual budget, was lost to "health tourists"

(UK DoH, 2013)

# 160%

A zero net migration would cause the national debt to rise to more than 160% of GDP by 2060-61. As a consequence, the population would rise only to 64.1 million, the working age population would fall to 35 million

(Office for Budget Responsibility, George Osborne's own watchdog, 2013)



# Media myths and political lie peddling

**Elisabeth Pop** on the story of how British media has reacted to a supposed 'influx' of eastern European migrants in the New Year

SINCE EARLY 2013, immigration-related anxiety has consistently ranked first in the public arena, to the detriment of real debate about the state and future of the British economy. Almost daily panic-spreading front covers and headlines have come to define the British press coverage of this year's expiration of work restrictions for Romanians and Bulgarians. The headlines, which referred to fellow EU citizens who enjoyed free movement since 2007, kept on coming:

- "350,000 Romanians have their sights set on Britain"
- "600 more arrive every day from Eastern Europe"
- "One migrant arrives in Britain every minute"
- "Bulgarians set to 'invade' as Poles take cash and run"
- "Britain is taking in 20,000 EU migrant workers each month"

You would be mistaken to think these headlines are recent. They actually date from 2006, a few months before Romania and Bulgaria joined the EU. There were based on unfounded estimates by MigrationWatch in 2006 that "300,000 will arrive here in the first 20 months after the two countries' accession to the EU".

Unsurprisingly, Romanians and Bulgarians did not

immigrate to the UK in vast numbers as the anti-migration think-tank predicted. The fact that approximately 160,000 Romanians and Bulgarians have come here given the tough work restrictions and found work shows the sort of people they are and the fact that they want to integrate, to be respected and treated equally.

According to the National Institute for Economic and Social Research: "Romanian and Bulgarian nationals want to contribute to the economy and are contributing to the economy. They are economic migrants, so generally, young and healthy and do not make major demands on health services and the welfare system."

The significant change in tone for the 2013 headlines is noticeable and worrying:

- "Romanians & Bulgarians are queuing up for handout Britain"
- "Bulgarian gypsies who came to UK to get benefits are housed three weeks after arriving"
- "A TIDAL wave of Romanian and Bulgarian immigrants is threatening to swamp Britain"
- "Protect Britain's borders from Romanian gangs"
- "How Romanian criminals terrorise our streets"
- "Romanian beggars 'flooding' London"

■ "100 Romanians and Bulgarians take a job in Britain every day"

■ "Destination UK: How 80,000 Bulgarians plan to move to Britain when border controls are scrapped"

■ "Crackdown on EU migrants. Cameron forced to get tough thanks to 150,000 Daily Express readers"

The majority of these headlines were collected from the Daily Mail, Daily Express and the Star. However, similar headlines found their way into the Telegraph, the Sun and even in the editorial line of some BBC and Channel 4 productions. In 2013, migrant-bashing was legitimised as the norm, aimed at Eastern Europeans in general and Romanian and Bulgarian migrants in particular. It is worrying to see that journalists, right, left and centre, are not shy of describing these people with derogatory terms such as 'scroungers', 'benefit tourists', 'criminals', 'NHS tourists', 'education tourists' and 'illegals'.

Some did not even hold back from inciting hate, such as the Daily Express 'Crusade to stop new European immigration to Britain'. The ensuing exaggeration and falsities added to the distorted image of Romanians and Bulgarians being on the brink of an invasion,

being uncivilised, poor and uneducated, a possible threat to public health and safety given the confusion over whether all Romanians are Roma, who are somehow a health and/or criminal issue.

In response, politicians from the three mainstream parties have reacted by seeing who can give the most radical anti-immigration speeches:

- Britain must say 'no' to eastern European workers, says Cameron
- Stop unrestricted immigration from poor EU countries, David Cameron suggests
- David Cameron's anger at factories staffed by foreigners
- Nick Clegg tells Roma migrants: Show us some respect!
- Clegg: 'Immigrants Intimidate' British People
- Nick Clegg: David Cameron right to launch attack on unchecked EU migration

But none of them can surpass UKIP. Since the beginning of the year UKIP leader Nigel Farage has been granted the right of "expert status" in the UK media. If the topic is immigration and in particular Romanian and Bulgarian immigration to the UK, or the question whether the UK should leave the EU, Farage is one, if not the only guest, invited to almost every current affairs programme.





He is also regularly asked to provide commentary in most newspapers, unchallenged on accuracy or content.

At the UKIP party conference he said Romanians or Roma – he always uses the two interchangeably – “live like animals” and are “desperate to move to a civilised country” like the UK. A month later, on the BBC’s Andrew Marr programme, he was left unchallenged when he claimed that we are already swamped with “Romanian criminals” and that “we are opening the door to more Romanian criminals”.

Instead of being asked to provide evidence to back such outrageous claims, his statements were reinforced by the question: “Do you feel you can’t do anything as we are part of the ECHR (European Court of Human Rights)?”.

This was a mainstream media institution, not a tabloid newspaper, which gave Farage the platform to spread misinformation on the issue of immigration and scaremongering about Romanian and Bulgarian nationals.

On the ground, UKIP leaflets, delivered before the local elections in May, focused mainly on the claim that 29m Bulgarians and Romanians will make use of their right to come to this

country in January, putting pressure on local hospitals, schools and social services, and thereby lowering wages. Since then he has diluted that claim, saying he never expected 29m to invade (*in fact there are only slightly more than 27 million people living in the two EU country according to their respective 2011 census*), but stressed that there are up to four million Romanian and Bulgarian Roma who will soon become a British problem. Not only are such claims left unchallenged, they are regularly quoted in the tabloid press next to statements made by the Home Office saying: “Border staff have the power to refuse entry to EU nationals on the grounds of public policy, public security or public health”.

Here are just a few more selected examples of media hyperbole:

- One in five highly skilled jobs in Britain is taken up by an Eastern European migrant
- Bulgarian and Romanian migrants ‘will help UK economy’, says European Commission
- Eastern European immigrants ‘overwhelmingly benefit UK economy’, reports say
- Cameron’s immigration hierarchy: Chinese and Indians good, Eastern Europeans bad

■ Theresa May rejects ‘scaremongering’ Romanian crime wave claims

Farage is quite correct when he says he is “changing the face of British politics”. He is making immigrant baiting and the spreading of myths and stereotypes pass as mainstream discourse. In the meantime, no major politician is willing to engage in an honest debate about immigration. Instead, increasingly more bigoted messages in the media get reinforced by illegal measures such as the ones recently announced by David Cameron against EU migrants, which basically boil down to “EU freedom of movement should be less free” and “even if EU citizens, Romanians and Bulgarians are less equal than others”. What some might have described as language and attitudes associated with extreme right wing politics back in 2007 is now increasingly reported as and debated as mainstream.

The British media has been adamant in portraying a terrible image of Romanians and Bulgarians ever since 2006. Even if the overwhelming majority of evidence emerging since then proved their positive

contribution to British economy and society, both as nationals of the two countries and as part of the wider Eastern European migrant force, the media and political rhetoric has in fact become even more radical, the mode even more toxic.

Since then, nationals of the two countries, be it those already settled in the UK and increasingly those who might choose to relocate to the UK, have served as scapegoats for problems in British society. Time and time again, the media and politicians have chosen to fabricate a so-called “reality of the immigrant threat and benefits tourism”.

It is about time for us all to revisit the immigration debate with facts and not the self-serving, inflammatory rhetoric regarding Eastern European migrants that fuels the anxieties of the British people, but does not address their long time worries about the NHS, their wages and pensions, their children’s education and work prospects. Because, as history has unfortunately shown us with previous waves of immigration, the gap between xenophobic rhetoric and racial violence is small indeed.



# We can live side b

**How one community became a success story for migration**  
by *Dave Porter*

FEARS OVER A RACIST backlash in a Manchester neighbourhood led to the setting up of a unique project which has seen the Roma community go from strength to strength.

Worried about local EDL activities and the possibility that newly-arrived Romanians might be targeted, the city council and the local police invited academics from the Romani Project at Manchester University to conduct a large-scale survey into the needs and aspiration of the Romani community.

Professor Yaron Matras and his colleagues had already successfully worked with local primary schools to help teachers understand Roma culture better, and the aim of the survey was to find out the motivation of the 150 or so families who had moved to Gorton, a particularly deprived part of Manchester.

Professor Matras told HOPE not hate: "They were worried about aggression against Roma, not about Roma behaviour. They were on an estate where there had been quite a bit of racist violence against different groups."

Both the council and the police accepted they did not know how to approach the community: Roma communities do not generally have leadership structures, can be inward looking and have a suspicion of authority.

"We went to young people in the community who we identified as having been in the country long enough to have English skills and a motivation to act as mediators and role models," said Professor Matras.

"It has been incredibly successful. Some have gone on to be classroom assistants, some have won prizes for volunteering,



some are doing outreach worker roles, and one started university a couple of months ago."

Professor Matras says that what also came out of the project was the realisation that any 'problems' which the authorities thought might have existed between the Romani community and local residents was actually down to simply perception.

"It turns out that having gone through the issues one by one that nothing is really there – Roma children attend school just like everyone else and Roma parents

Professor Yaron Matras: 'problems' which the authorities thought might have existed between the Romani community and local residents was actually down to simply perception.

work just like everyone else," he said.

Professor Yaras said that the Roma chose Gorton because it was an area of low rents where they could quickly settle. But virtually none of them claim any benefits because as a group they are motivated by work.

"All of them work because they have an entrepreneurial spirit. People who emigrate to another country tend to be more enterprising. They also have a wide support network. In Gorton itself there are a lot of children



# by side



Romanian positive campaign

from single parent families and a lot of parents have a drug addiction problem. You get none of that in the Roma community, no break-up of the family, it is very rare. They have a much tighter support network," he said.

Professor Matras contrasts what he sees as the "positive" media portrayal on the issue of Romanian and Bulgarian migrants with the negative rhetoric being employed by politicians such as Nick Clegg and David Blunkett – though he does see some hope on the horizon.

He said: "I can also say that even some of the politicians who have been caught up in the debate have since sent messages to me to say they are actually willing to have a rethink.

"I don't see any real danger of things escalating. Fears over massive immigration are pure scaremongering. You can compare it with the debates about Roma in the Czech and Slovak republics 10 years ago. There will be no massive immigration of the Roma."

In fact, Professor Matras says the relaxation of the rules in January will bring about more positive change for Romanians already here than those planning to come to the UK.

"I actually employ two outreach workers on self-employed contracts and in a few weeks time I will be able to give them proper contracts," he said.

"Only those who were willing to take risks as self-employed and become entrepreneurs are here and there is no reason to assume that more will arrive. But the situation will change for those already here because they will have more opportunities.

"Workers will be able to have more secure contracts and people going to school will have better prospects and an increased motivation to finish their education. It will have nothing but a positive effect on social inclusion."

And Professor Matras says that any talk of Romanian, Bulgarian or indeed any other eastern European migrants having to "change their ways", as politicians have stated recently, is completely misguided.

"I find it unacceptable to say to any group of people that they should change their behaviour. Yes, they should make use of any opportunities given to them and grab onto them, but it does not mean they have to change their culture," he said.

'Gorton Voices' is an audio-visual project which captured the hopes and aspirations of the Romani community in east Manchester. Here we reprint a selection of those voices:

*"We don't want to beg – that's why we came here, to live better"*

*"My children don't speak English well. I'd like to learn English. I'd like to do something for my family, to get something ... normal, you know? Get a job and give them a place to live, do you understand? I think they should help us with jobs, give us work permits. So we can raise our children, give them a good life."*

*"We want our son to be happy, not to suffer. To eat well, go to school, learn English."*

*"I want to stay here, I feel really good. No one comes after us, the police is really good. They listen to us, our neighbours are good. We are happy, everything is good."*

*"Racists, you know? They see us, they provoke us. There are many troublemakers, they harass our children in the park. White men, you know? English. Officials should come here to see. Go to every family and listen to what they tell them. 'What do you need? Can we help you with something? And then every family can say: 'we need this, we need that, my son doesn't go to school.'"*



# The state of hate crime against Roma in Europe and the UK

Research by *Elisabeth Pop*

## UK

- Gov estimate – 75 to 100,000 Eastern European Roma, English and Welsh Romani Gypsies and Irish and Scottish Travellers
- EC estimate – 400 to 500,000 GRT people (0.8% of the population)
- No willingness from UK Gov to acknowledge real figures and to follow EU legislation which asks for implementation of National Roma Integration Strategy, to encourage integration, tackle discrimination against GRT ethnics in housing, education, employment and health and access million of EU funds made available
- Hate crimes against GRT people are not monitored
- Only in the last 6 months, GRT people are monitored when coming into contact with the prison system or local health system to assess their needs
- The derogative words “gipso” (for Gypsy) and “pikey” (for Irish Traveller) are still used in the media and by the public, although they are illegal, but the law is not reinforced

## FRANCE

- Gov estimate – refuse to conduct ground research
- EC estimate – 400,000 Roma people (0.3% of the population)
- Between 2011 and 2012, hundreds of evictions, on average 3,000 Roma repatriated per year.
- More than a dozen documented cases of racial motivated attack, battering and arson on Roma camps – no prosecutions, one Roma person dead, three injured.

## CZECH REPUBLIC

- Gov estimate : 150,000 Roma people
- EC estimate: 250,000 Roma people
- There were 47 attacks against Roma and/or their property in the Czech Republic between January 2008 and June 2012.
- Five Roma individuals died following violent incidents. The attacks left at least 22 people, including three minors, with injuries; two of which were life-threatening. In at least 10 cases firebombs were used; one case involved a tear gas grenade; in at least two cases shots were fired. In at least 13 cases Romani property was vandalised and in at least 11 cases Roma were beaten. At least seven cases of violence saw minors as victims and in two cases, a Roma victim died after incidents involving police.

## HUNGARY

- Gov and EC estimate : 750,000 (7% of the population)
- Between January 2008 and September 2012, 61 attacks against Roma and/or their property in Hungary. The attacks took a total of nine lives, including two minors and left dozens of people with injuries, ten of which were life-threatening. At least twelve cases of Molotov cocktails were used against Roma people and/or their property and in two cases even hand grenades. In at least 16 cases shots were fired and in 19 cases Roma property was destroyed or vandalised.

## ITALY

- Gov and EC estimate: 150,000 (0.3% population)
- Hate crimes against Roma in Italy have been on the rise since 2007, and include violent attacks and arsons in Rome and Milan and a modern-day pogrom in Naples. In the first six months of 2012 alone, the Italian watchdog had already received 130 reports regarding 56 crimes against Roma. The police arrested 11 people and opened investigations on another 33.

## POLAND

- Gov and EC estimate: 15,000 (0.1% of the population)
- No official data exists, but Roma Rights groups reported to the OSCE (2012) one case of attempted arson against several Roma homes; one case of property damage against a car; two cases of public threats by a group against Roma families; and seven physical assaults, including one resulting in serious injury and four carried out by a group. Three attacks involved the perpetrators breaking into the houses of Roma families, with children present.

## BULGARIA

- Gov estimate: 350,000
- EC estimate: 750,000 (10% of the population)
- There were 14 recorded attacks against Roma and/or their property in Bulgaria between September 2011 and July 2012. In these cases at least three Roma individuals died following a violent incident. The attacks left at least 22 people, including a pregnant woman and two minors, with injuries. At least five Roma had to be hospitalised for a long duration. In at least six cases Roma individuals were stabbed; in at least 17 cases Roma were beaten, including two minors. In one case shots were fired and in another a bomb was used.





# My struggle to be accepted in the UK

*Dave Porter talks to a young Romanian who is a community champion for migrants*

WHEN RAMONA Constantin goes home to visit relatives in Romania, the question they ask is not 'when can we come to England to work?' but 'how do you manage to live so far away from home and your family?'

Twenty-nine-year old Ramona has been living in the UK since 2009 and is firmly settled here with a husband and three children. She goes home a couple of times a year to see her family but does not witness a huge demand in Romania for people wanting to travel to the UK now that restrictions have been relaxed.

"It is the opposite. They always say to me, 'we don't speak the language, we don't know any people there, it would be too difficult for us, we are never going to do that'. They say 'how do you manage to stay away from here for so long?'," she said.

Ramona, who lives in Manchester, is struggling to come to terms with the level of vitriol directed at her country and its people by politicians and some part of the British media, and does not recognise the picture they paint of hordes of migrants who are about to flood the

country in search of benefits and access to free homes.

"I'm very upset because I know it's not true. It's not going to happen what they are saying in the papers, there is not going to be a riot or a lot of people coming here from Romania. It's not Eden here or some kind of paradise, it's just a country," she said.

"You could ask the same question of people in England: why would you want to go to Romania to get a job when you don't know the language and you don't know anybody? You have no friends there and have no idea how to get work. It's very strange for people."

Like many enterprising people who emigrate to another country, Ramona has turned her life around in a short period of time. Arriving in the UK with no understanding of English, she started selling the Big Issue and took part in a training scheme organised by the paper's sister company, Big Life. In the past she has worked as an interpreter and classroom assistant and now carries out outreach work in the Roma community for Manchester University's Romani Project.



"If a person wants to study and then gets attached to a country and gets a job and pays taxes, what's wrong with that? I did the same and I have not hurt anyone," she said.

Ramona says that while there is little evidence of hostility towards Romanian and Bulgarian people already living in Britain, she is worried about the image being created by the media and politicians and thinks this may cause problems in the future.

She stated: "I would prefer it for someone to say to my face instead of writing it in the paper."

Ramona thinks the biggest change to come when restrictions are lifted in the

New Year will be for those Romanians and Bulgarians already living in the UK, rather than leading to any mass migration from these countries.

Ramona herself has said of Romanian migrants that "we shouldn't have low expectations for ourselves and no one else should have low expectations for us simply because we are Roma".

She has ambitions to attend university and become a social worker and only last year was invited to dine alongside the queen at a Diamond Jubilee luncheon at Manchester town hall, for her work with the Big Life company, receiving a special invite from the Lord Mayor.



# The case against Anjem Choudary

By Nick Lowles and Joe Mulhall



THE CONVICTION of Michael Adebawale and Michael Adebolajo last month for the murder of Lee Rigby in Woolwich last March is further proof of the insidious and dangerous role played by Anjem Choudary and his al-Muhajiroun network.

Both Adebawale and Adebolajo had been active supporters of his group. Adebolajo had spoken at their rallies while Adebawale had attended their activities as recently as five months before the murder. Both remained friendly with other al-Muhajiroun activists at the time of Lee Rigby's murder and their murderous actions were cheered on by others in the group.

Anjem Choudary has always denied he was involved in any terrorist plot or that he advocates terrorism. He never ceases to cite the 'Covenant of Security' which he claims precludes him from attacking the country in which he resides.

But this is just a convenient fig leaf. While there is no evidence that Choudary has personally conspired to commit any acts of terrorism in the UK or been party to any plots, he should

take responsibility for the people he has radicalised who went on to be involved in terrorist plots.

HOPE not hate has identified 75 British citizens who have been convicted of terrorism or terrorist-related offences over the last 15 years who have been through al-Muhajiroun or one of its front groups.

Many were still linked to al-Muhajiroun at the time of their arrests. They include:

Mohammed Chowdhury, ringleader of the 2010 Christmas bomb plot, was a key lieutenant within the organisation and was filmed helping Choudary set up a Skype call with Omar Bakri Mohammad less than three weeks before he was arrested. The other eight people convicted in the bomb plot were all al-Muhajiroun activists.

Habib Ahmed, convicted in 2006 of being a member of an al-Qaeda terror plot, was al-Muhajiroun's Manchester organiser at the time of his arrest.

Mohammed Benares, convicted in 2012 for having a gun and downloading bomb-making equipment, was a key

al-Muhajiroun activist in Birmingham up until the time of his arrest.

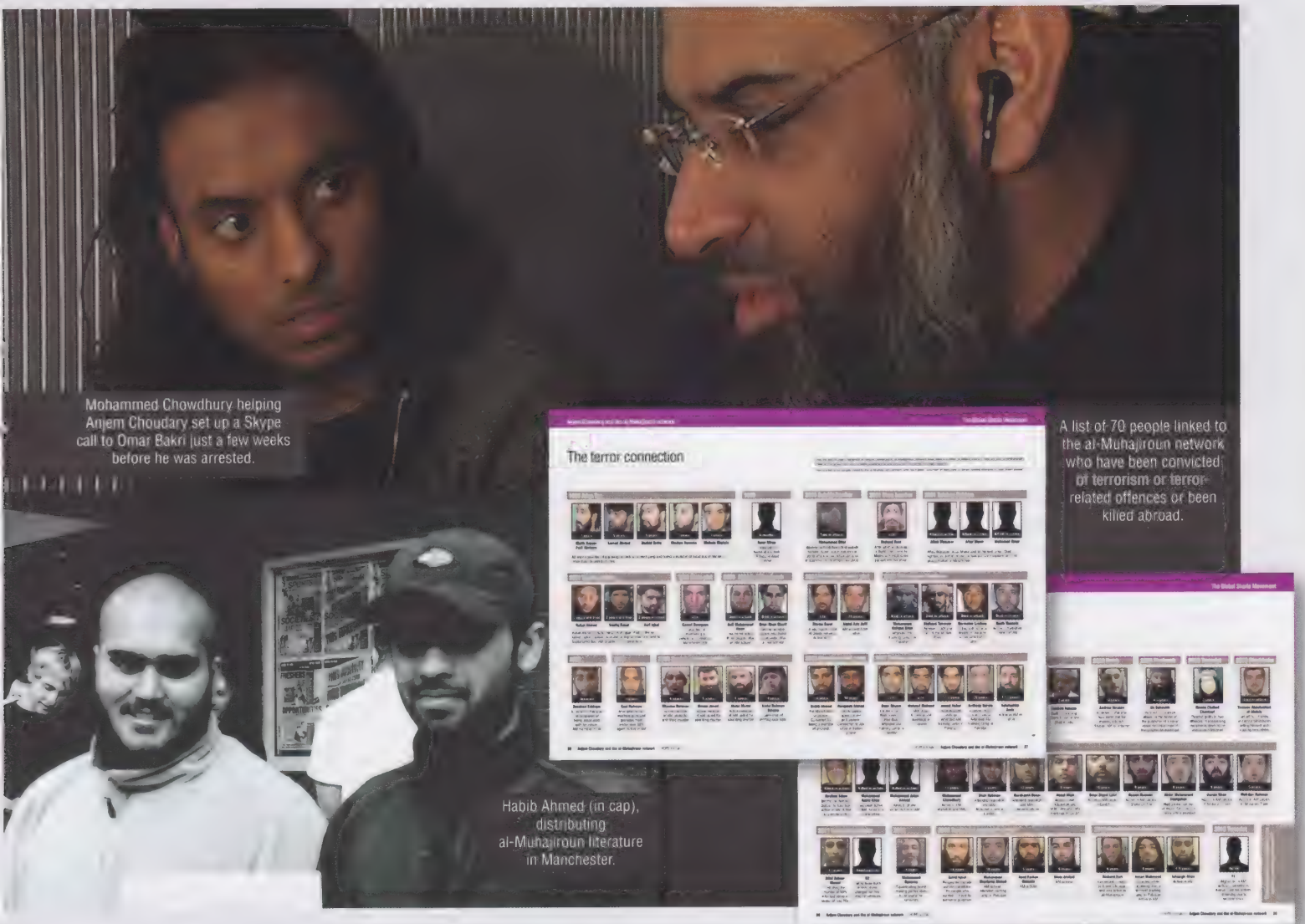
Richard Dart, convicted in 2013 of a plot to bomb Royal Wooten Bassett, converted to Islam under the direct tutorship of Anjem Choudary. His fellow conspirators were also active in al-Muhajiroun.

One of Choudary's key minders today is Mikael Ibrahim, a former Hackney gangster who was jailed for 14 years for a shooting in Leeds. Ibrahim was converted in prison by Dhiren Barot, the ringleader of 2004 Financial Centre plot.

Several people convicted of terrorist related offences remain active in al-Muhajiroun. They include Abu Izzadeen, Abdul Muhid, Mizanur Rahman and Sulayman Keeler.

Hundreds more have been convicted of lesser offences. Only a couple of weeks before Michael Adebawale and Michael Adebolajo were convicted, three of Choudary's key London activists were convicted for violence during their Muslim patrols in East London. Muslim Patrols that Choudary authorised and took part in.





They include Jordan Horner, a young convert who has been convicted several times in the past two years for his Islamist activities.

Anjem Choudary and his al-Muhajiroun network have been linked to more than 75 people convicted of terrorism or terror-related offences. It is time he was held to account for the hatred he preaches and the confrontational and violent ideology he espouses.

Constantly feted by the media – from BBC Newsnight to the *Daily Star* – yet often treated as a ‘clown’, it is dangerous to ignore the threat posed by Choudary and his followers. As well as acting as a gateway to terrorism, the actions of these extremists leads to the stigmatisation of the *entire* Muslim community and the shameful idea of collective responsibility.

Enough is enough. It is time the authorities acted against this preacher of hate. He might not be the most extreme preacher but he is certainly the most high profile and acts as the biggest conduit for those seeking a more hardline interpretation of Islam, especially converts.

## Gateway to Terror

Anjem Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun network



New from  
HOPE not hate

Gateway to Terror can be purchased for £5 (plus £2 p&p) from  
[www.hopenothate.org.uk/shop/al-muhajiroun](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk/shop/al-muhajiroun)

**GATEWAY TO TERROR** is a new report by HOPE not hate into Anjem Choudary and the al-Muhajiroun network. It is the most detailed investigation into this Islamist extremist organisation, its structures and its terrorist connections.

The 60-page publication lists those convicted of terrorism or terror-related offences, or who have actually participated in suicide attacks, who have been linked to the group. It names the man who narrated a recent al-Shabaab video and his links to the group. It charts the growing connections between Choudary and the northern Iraqi Ansar al-Islam and discloses that between 200-300 supporters from Choudary's network have gone to fight in Syria.



# The State of Hate in 2013

By *Matthew Collins and Nick Lowles*

**A**rrests for violence, growing evidence of involvement in terrorism, the re-emergence of the old Combat 18 factions, confrontation on the streets again over Northern Ireland; it was almost as if we were in 1993, not 2013 last year.

Our research has provided us evidence that even suggests that the BNP actually had a larger paid-up and active membership in 1993 too. As we begin 2014, a total and complete electoral demise of the extreme far right in this country is within our grasp.

The BNP, still the only serious electoral threat from the fascist movement in Britain, is itself almost on the brink of abandoning serious electioneering. Its leader, Nick Griffin, has for two years slowly convinced those still close to him, that the party must begin to reconcile itself to the idea that for the foreseeable future at least, the BNP's flirtation with the political mainstream is over.

For Griffin himself, this has been a long and bitter realisation. He actually began making plans for what most in the BNP was unthinkable, at a secret meeting in Stoke away back in 2012. Publicly, it was not until October last year that he actually admitted that he may not be re-elected to the European parliament in 2014.

For Griffin and the BNP, what is most bitter is that the conditions for electoral

success, would appear perfect. Immigration scare stories, Islamist terrorism on the streets of the capital, 'Muslim' grooming gangs and deep and severe cuts to public services all conjure up an impression for many that the BNP must be cleaning up dissatisfied voters in their thousands. But it is not to be. Griffin is facing defeat in his bid to defend his European seat and the party will almost certainly be wiped out of local government.

## **Bleak future**

The fortunes of the BNP splinter-group, the British Democratic Party, look even bleaker. Despite emerging with the promise of replacing the BNP as the dominant group on the British far-right, the BDP is disappearing without a trace.

The BNP has been usurped by UKIP, whose increasingly tough stance on immigration and migration is both more appealing for BNP voters but also reaching sections of the population that would never had countenanced voting for a fascist party.

2014 will be UKIP's year and will be the year when Britain joins many other European countries in having a sizeable right wing populist party. And after May's elections, the BNP might appear a distant memory.

It has been a roller-coaster of a year for the English Defence League (EDL). It began with leader Stephen

Lennon in prison and increasingly dispirited with the direction it was going. Then, after the murder of Lee Rigby, it sprung into life once again and attracted more than 100,000 new supporters on Facebook.

However, their bubble soon burst and their demonstrations quickly became smaller once again. By October Lennon had had enough and, together with Kevin Carroll, unexpectedly quit the organisation.

The EDL continues but it is almost certainly going to be a mere shadow of its former self.

## **Threat disappears**

Lennon has been replaced by a committee of leaders who, at a recent leadership meeting, decided to try to make the group more mainstream. They agreed to try and kick out Nazis from within their ranks and even open up dialogue with moderate Muslims. However, this is unlikely to make much difference to their fortunes. To all intents and purposes Lennon was the EDL and without him it is nothing.

Yet the decline of the BNP and EDL does not mean the threat has disappeared. We are likely to see a fracturing of the movement, with actions being more localised and perhaps more militant. Thousands of young men have been radicalised by the BNP and EDL and these people will not vanish

overnight. In some cases we will see EDL supporters drift into UKIP while others appear to be moving over to the more hardline and confrontational National Front. Others, as we have seen in Leicester and Lincolnshire, will get involved in local community actions against migrants and campaigns against mosques.

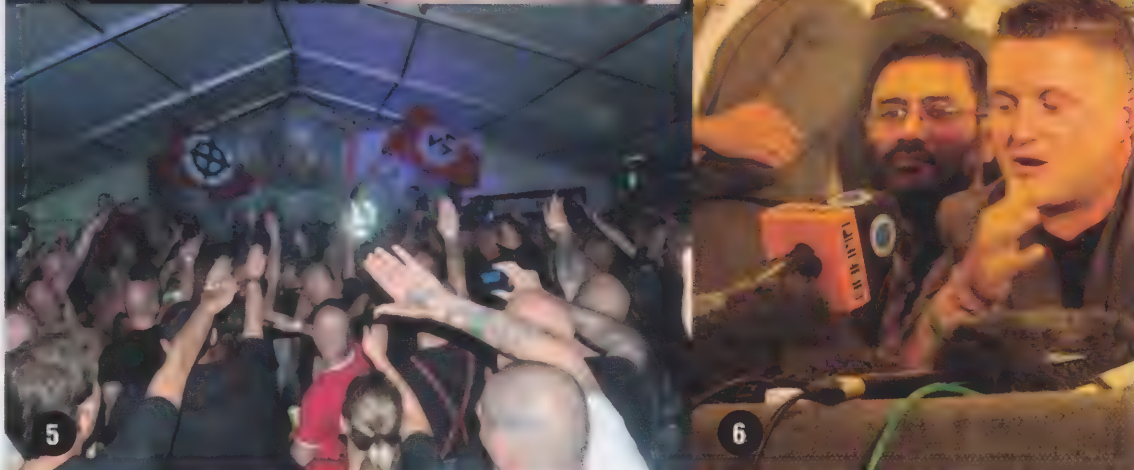
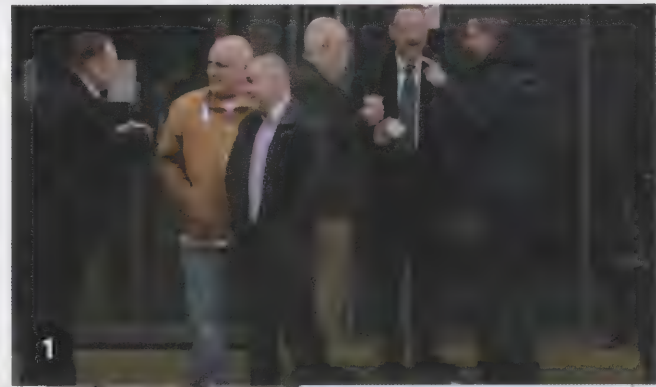
The EDL and its satellite "counter-jihadists" groups are a serious disengagement from civil society. The levels of violence they are capable of, the intimidation of progressive people and a complete and a serious rejection of a multicultural Britain for a society, sees them now advocating increasingly serious levels of violence, murder and terrorism like their founder Stephen Lennon prophesised would happen after the Breivik massacre in 2011.

Much of this talk is of course just drunken social media bluster; however, there are a number of cases before the courts where we can identify the influence of the English Defence League.

We are even seeing a return of some of the old faces from Combat 18 and with scores to be settled from the death of Chris Castle, in 1998, there is likely to increased activity from this quarter. Charlie Sargent and Martin Cross are both out of prison and this appears to have reawakened Will Browning from his semi-political retirement. They might



1. Formation of the British Democratic Party  
February 2013
2. March for England protest April 2013
3. EDL descended in huge numbers on  
Newcastle in May 2013
4. BNP Red, White and Blue festival  
August 2013
5. Blood and Honour's Ian Stuart Memorial  
gig September 2013
6. Stephen Lennon announces his resignation  
from the EDL October 2013



be ageing and represent a long-forgotten chapter in the history of the British far right but their hatred of one another still burns strong.

### Success

As antifascists we take a great deal of pleasure in the credit for the plight of the BNP and even the non-electoral English Defence League (EDL).

Publicly and privately, both on the streets and even inside the BNP, we have engineered a lot of the disasters that have befallen the party. Griffin himself was also one of our greatest assets. But we shall not rest on our laurels. Griffin is frustrated: he is frustrated that his party was ill-prepared for an onslaught, he's furious how quickly people buckled and jumped ship when the going got tough and how little of the BNP's real central message was imparted on its membership. He once declared that the BNP was going to be a "revolutionary" party, we could be about to witness the BNP attempt at least, to play out a bloody revolution. But of course, the hyperbole came to nothing and he has only himself to blame.

However, there is no time to rest on our laurels. The face of the British right is changing rapidly and so we need to prepare to deal with the new challenges we will face. And in UKIP, and their right wing populist appeal, we have an even bigger job to do in the future.



# British National Party

## POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:

Racial Nationalism with a growing and renewed anti-semitism.

**LEADER:** Nick Griffin

**KEY OFFICIALS:** Clive Jefferson, Alwyn Deacon, Adam Walker

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Sporadic electioneering and leafleting, street stalls, branch meetings

## GEOGRAPHICAL AREAS OF

**STRENGTH:** Salford, South Tyneside, outer London, Cumbria

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** The BNP's demise was graphically illustrated by their inability to make any meaningful capital on the murder of drummer Lee Rigby and Griffin's humiliating climbdown in a confrontation with former EDL leader Stephen Yaxley Lennon.

Membership is believed to be well below 2,000.

The BNP now has only two councillors left and its share in the vote in the wards it contested in 2013 was only 5.5%. This compares to 11.1% in 2009, when it stood over four times as many candidates.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** If Nick Griffin is not re-elected to European parliament, we can expect mass sackings and redundancies at BNP central. Without the European cash flow, the BNP would be back to being run by volunteers from the back rooms of pubs. It will be all-out therefore to get Griffin back to Brussels and more and more effort to swallow up the divided Defence League.

The party is trying to transform itself into a street movement in readiness for Griffin's defeat.



**Category:**  
Extreme  
RightWing

**Membership:**  
Decline



BNP demonstration over the murder of Lee Rigby, London May 2013



Adam Walker



Nick Griffin

# British Democratic Party

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Racial Nationalism, neo-Nazism, Holocaust denial.

**LEADER:** Kevin Scott (Chair) Andrew Brons (President)

**KEY OFFICIALS:** James Lewthwaite, Andrew Moffat, Adrian Davies, Ken Booth

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** West Yorkshire, East London, Leicestershire, Newcastle

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Socialising with Holocaust deniers and sniping at the BNP

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** Having been launched with such fanfare and expectations, the BDP has failed to deliver. It stood only three candidates in the 2013 local elections and a tiny party conference in October aired the apparent resurfacing of age-old factions and distrust.

Brons appears to despair of the 'regional' interests of certain other leading figures.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** The party intends to prioritise the 2014 local elections at the expense of the European Elections. Expect increased activity in West Yorkshire from the remnants of the Democratic Nationalists Party (DNP) but, overall, anti-semitism, conspiracy theories and disinterest will continue to hamper the party.



Kevin Scott



Yorkshire BDP Day-of-Action in Cleckheaton in August 2013 with Jim Lewthwaite (center) and Andrew Brons (right)

**Membership:**  
Decline

**Category:**  
Extreme  
RightWing



## Britain First



**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Counter-Jihadist, evangelical Christian, anti-immigration, anti-abortion, doomsday scenarios

**LEADER:** Paul Golding and Jim Dowson

**LEADING MEMBERS:** Andy McBride and other associates in Northern Ireland

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** Belfast, East London

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Dowson is the king of stunts in Northern Ireland, Golding follows suit by confronting Islamists in London physically and on social media.



Paul Golding (left) holding a Jim Dowson cardboard cut-out in Belfast

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** Dowson became a cause célèbre for the Northern Irish flag protestors, banned from marches and charged with religious extremist offences; he was in and out of court throughout the year while Golding issued threats against Anjem Choudary and his followers which caused discomfort and consternation for the authorities in London.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** More of the same. Dowson does not win friends, but sets out to antagonise former ones who he now sees as enemies. Co-leader Golding described BF as the "SAS of this sort of politics ... not interested in corrupt elections where you get 5% of the vote." Their aggressively anti-Islamist stunts might attract some former EDL activists. Despite protesting they are against electioneering, BF look set to stand against Nick Griffin in his North West constituency this May.



## Liberty GB

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Counter-Jihad, anti-immigration and racial nationalist.

**LEADER:** Paul Weston

**LEADING MEMBERS:** Jack Buckby, George Whale

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** None known

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Viral



**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** Having convinced former BNP star Jack Buckby to jump ship, Weston has done little more than promote anti-mosque applications. American counter-Jihadists describe him as "an unusually fine and intelligent man" which should suffice Weston's notorious ego for now.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** Desperate to play a large part in the international counter-Jihad movement, expect Weston to spend more time in Europe and Buckby doing more self promotion. Planning to stand in the Euro elections in the south west.



Paul Weston

## National Front

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Neo-Nazism

**LEADER:** Currently disputed between factions loyal to Kevin Bryant or Ian Edward

**LEADING MEMBERS:** Richard Edmonds, Tess Culnane, Eddie Morrison, Chris Jackson, Kevin Watmough

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** Newcastle, south London, Essex, Portsmouth, North West

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Confrontations with political opponents, marches and demonstrations.

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** The National Front has seen a rise in activism during 2013, largely due to the recruitment of former supporters of the EDL, the Infidels, the National Patriotic Front and the British Freedom Party. However, these recruits have brought their own problems and this, together with increasingly provocative "flash demonstrations", has led to severe internal strife.

Police are currently investigating allegations of computer hacking and threats of violence between the 'northern' and 'southern' factions fighting for control.

An Emergency General Meeting planned for early December was unlikely to separate the warring factions.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:**

Likely to be central in the growing militancy of the far-right in this country. Increasing violence coupled with confrontational attitudes to other far-right groups may swell their ranks slightly, but politically the party has no electoral prospects or interests and at the time of going to press, no signatory with the electoral commission.

# NF



Kevin Watmough





# English Defence League

## POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:

Counter-Jihad, anti-Islam, anti-immigration.

## LEADER:

Tim Ablitt

## LEADING MEMBERS:

Hel Gower, Gail Speight, Dave Bolton, Alan Spence, Roger Firth, Kieran Hallett

## AREAS OF STRENGTH:

West Yorkshire, Sheffield, Birmingham, Newcastle, Essex,

## ACTIVITY OF GROUP:

Marches, confrontations, social media

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** More than any other organisation, politically and financially, the EDL made the greatest gains of 2013. The organisation was on the brink of collapse until Stephen Lennon appeared at the scene of Lee Rigby's murder screaming "enough is enough". Having reinvigorated the dying embers of the EDL, Lennon then sensationally quit in October citing concerns about neo-Nazi infiltration and calling some followers "scum."

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** The EDL will continue but it will not be on the same scale as before. The group will splinter further into mere regional alliances than a national organisation.



Tim Ablitt

# Infidels

Category: Counter-Jihadist

## POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:

"Leaderless resistance", anti-Irish, anti-immigrant, Loyalist.

## LEADER:

John 'Snowy' Shaw

## LEADING MEMBERS:

Shane Calvert, Peter Hawley, Liam Pinkham, Warren Faulkner

## AREAS OF STRENGTH:

North West and North East

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** High profile arrests and convictions for violence and drug possession give a fair idea about what the Infidels main interests really are. Six of the group were jailed in September for a vicious attack in Liverpool on antifascist campaigners. Shaw seems determined to create a cheap imitation of Combat 18.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** Nick Griffin's favourite counter-Jihad group when he needs some thuggery doing. More convictions likely due to their aggressive activities.



John 'Snowy' Shaw

# South East Alliance

## POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:

Counter-Jihad, anti-immigration, Loyalism, anti-Communist

## LEADER:

Paul Prodromou

## LEAD MEMBERS:

Al Francis, Gary Field, Andrew Kinggett

## AREAS OF STRENGTH:

Essex, London

## ACTIVITY OF GROUP:

Marches, protests, pickets, counter-demonstrations

## ASSESSMENT OF 2013:

Prodromou over-extended himself, leading a disastrous foray into Brighton St George's Day, then his "10,000 man march" through south London drew only 40 individuals making him a figure of ridicule. He was one of the few names not put forward to lead the English Defence League after Lennon's defection.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** The SEA is leading the call for unity of all counter-Jihad groups. Expect more intimidation of trade unionists and antifascists and more co-operation with the BNP.



Paul Prodromou

Membership: Decline

# English Volunteer Force

## POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:

Anti-immigration, anti-Islam, Ulster Loyalist

## LEADER:

William Anderson

## LEADING MEMBERS:

Jason Locke, Mark Weston, Donna Anderson

## AREAS OF STRENGTH:

West Midlands, East Belfast, East Anglia, Essex, Weston- Super-mare, Glasgow

## ACTIVITY OF GROUP:

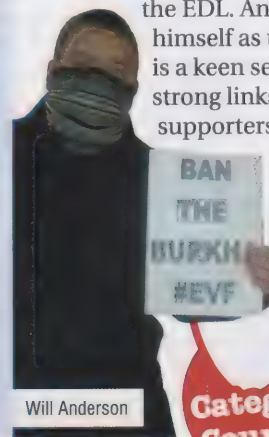
Anti-immigration, anti-Islam, Loyalist marches and protests

## ASSESSMENT OF 2013:

Anderson took over the group after Chris Renton returned to the EDL. Anderson describes himself as the group's 'CEO' and is a keen self-promoter. Forged strong links with Belfast-based supporters looking to spread their own interests onto the mainland.

## PROSPECTS FOR 2014:

One to watch



Will Anderson

Category: Counter-Jihadist

Membership: Growth



## Blood and Honour

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Nazi

**LEADER:** Simon Dutton

**KEY OFFICIALS:** Dave Braddon, Ginger Rob, Benny Bullman

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Holds 6-8 gigs a year

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** London, South East, South Wales, East Midlands, Scotland

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** As every year passes Blood and Honour becomes less important to the far right. Aging activist base, with very few young people coming through. The 2013 ISD gig was the latest gig in 20 years but the majority of the 1,000 people who attended were from overseas.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** Their fortunes are unlikely to change in 2014. Small but loyal following.

B&H Ian Stuart Memorial gig September 2013



## Racial Volunteer Force

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Nazi

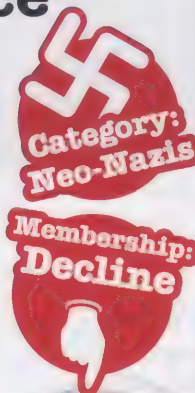
**LEADER:** Mark Atkinson

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Joins the National Front's Remembrance Sunday demonstration every year and holds a few socials in collaboration with regional groups of the National Front and British Movement.

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** London, South Wales

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** Mark Atkinson's dream of uniting the Right has come to nothing, not least because he is not liked by many of those he sought to involve in his unity plea. Now only has a couple of dozen loyal supporters and many of them are also in other organisations.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** Hard to see anything improving for the RVE, though they might form closer links with some of Charlie Sargent's old network.



Mark Atkinson

## Combat 18

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Nazi

**LEADER:** Will Browning

**KEY OFFICIALS:** Nick Field, John Henderson, Darren Wilkinson, Kevin Gough

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Very inactive in the UK and largely consisting of the same C18 network that existed in its heyday in the late 1990s. Between 30-50 people will identify with the group. Holds occasional socials.

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** East London, North West

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** The North West Infidels have become closely involved in the C18 network during 2013 but the imprisonment of several of their leading activists for an attack in Liverpool has taken them off the streets.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** C18 appear uninterested in doing much activity or recruiting, though the old network appears loyal and tight. The release of Charlie Sargent might reopen old wounds and lead to on-going friction.

## British Movement

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Nazi

**LEADER:** Steve Frost

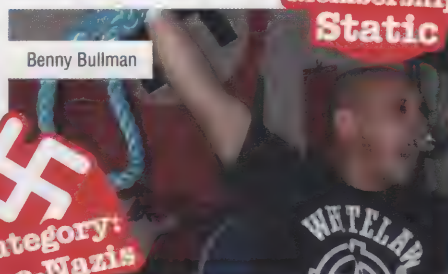
**KEY OFFICIALS:** Micky Lane, Benny Bullman

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Holds meetings and gigs in several parts of the country and there are reports of occasional stickering and leafleting. However, most of their activities happen around one pub.

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** East Midlands, West Yorkshire, Humbershire, South East London and Kent, South Wales

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** Has remained a dominant force within the Blood and Honour scene, but it has an aging membership who seem reluctant to actually do much activism.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** More of the same.



Benny Bullman



Will Browning



## New British Union



**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Mosleyite/Fascist

**LEADER:** Gary Raikes

**KEY OFFICIALS:** Andy Blackhouse (Policies Officer)  
Charlie Fournel (District Officer)  
John Ryan (Head of Security)

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Mostly internet based, held small conference October 2013 and plans to hold training weekend March 2014.

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** None

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** Initially launched as little more than just a website and marketing idea. Raikes was quick to launch his own line of expensive merchandise. Gary Raikes regularly appears in full uniform and refers to himself as 'The Leader' much to the amusement of most of the far right fraternity.

A long list of officials began to appear on the NBU website, making the NBU appear to be a functioning organisation. The reality was most of these had merely contacted the party asking for information and had been added without their knowledge.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** It's unlikely the NBU will turn into anything more than the joke outfit they appear to be at the moment. Raikes will attempt to sell as much merchandise as possible and the few members it has will soon tire of achieving little. The NBU resembles their cousins from the now defunct November 9th Society who also used to like to dress in peaked caps and armed bands. They fell apart and ceased to exist three years ago.

**Category:**  
**Extreme RightWing**

**Membership:**  
**Growth**

Gary Raikes



## Britannica

**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Racial Nationalist

**LEADER:** Charlie Baillie

**KEY OFFICIALS:** John Robertson,  
Max Dunbar

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Occasionally stands a candidate in local Scottish by-elections, making little impact.

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** Scotland, predominantly Glasgow

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** Apart from standing in a handful of by elections, Britannica, a party of ex-BNP members did very little in 2013.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** Their fortunes are unlikely to change in 2014 and they will probably plod on with the tiny number of members they appear to have.

## Patria

Ian Johnson

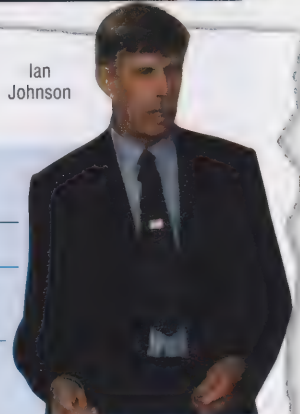
**POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:** Racial Nationalist

**LEADER:** Ian Johnson

**KEY OFFICIALS:** Dr Andrew Emerson, Dennis Whiting

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Apart from having a decent website, Patria have very few activities apart from standing occasionally in local by-elections.

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** West Sussex, Kent, Hampshire



**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** Tiny splinter of the BNP, Patria have done next to nothing in 2013 and barely function as a political party

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** Appear to have no more than 10 supporters if that, unlikely to make any impact in 2014.

**Membership:**  
**Decline**

**Membership:**  
**Static**

**Category:**  
**Extreme RightWing**



Charlie Baillie

# For more on Britain's far-right



## The London Forum (IONA)

### POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:

Extreme Right Wing Think Tank

**LEADER:** Jeremy Bedford-Turner (pictured)

**KEY OFFICIALS:** None

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** They restrict their activities to regular small meetings in London and the surrounding area.

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** London and South East



**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** Has made some ground on its rival organisation The New Right in the past year and appears to be the busier group, hosting regular meetings in and around the London area, with well-known members of the far right such as Canadian Paul Fromm, Dr James Thring and Sam Swerling.

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** It is unlikely that the path for The London Forum will deviate too much from its current form.

## The New Right

### POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:

Extreme Right Wing Think Tank

**LEADER:** Troy Southgate

**KEY OFFICIALS:** Adrian Davies

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Led by writer, publisher, musician and wannabe philosopher Troy Southgate, The New Right was created nine years ago as a 'Metapolitical' think tank inspired by the French Nouvelle Droite. They restrict their activities to small meetings in London and the surrounding area.

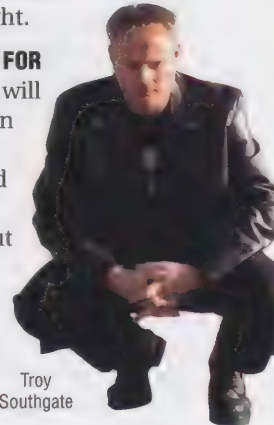
**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** London and South East

### ASSESSMENT OF 2013:

Hosting speakers such as Roger Lefebvre from The British Constitution Group, David Musa Pidcock of The Islamic Party of Britain and the ex BNP treasurer Michael Newland, The New Right has continued to have nothing but a tiny influence on the UK's far right.

### PROSPECTS FOR 2014:

They will continue on their tried and trusted route of talk without action.



Troy Southgate



## Traditional Britain Group

### POLITICAL PHILOSOPHY:

Extreme Conservative

**LEADER:** Gregory Lauder-Frost

**KEY OFFICIALS:** Lord Sudeley, Professor John Kersey, Christopher Gillibrand, Louis Welcomme

**ACTIVITY OF GROUP:** Dinners/Social Events/Meetings

**AREAS OF STRENGTH:** London & South East with a handful of small groups dotted around UK

**ASSESSMENT OF 2013:** The TBG hit the headlines in 2013 after it was revealed that Conservative MP Jacob Rees-Mogg was a guest at the TBG annual dinner in May and was pictured sitting at the top table seated next to Gregory Lauder-Frost.

Rees-Mogg disassociated himself from the TBG after he learned of Lauder-Frost's links to the far right and of the TBG's desire to repatriate millions of non white people back to their "ethnic homelands".

**PROSPECTS FOR 2014:** It is unlikely that the TBG will receive the same amount of publicity that it received in 2013 and will return to their normal activities.



Gregory Lauder-Frost



see [www.hopenothate.org.uk](http://www.hopenothate.org.uk)



# The Boston bigot

By *Simon Cressy*

AS THE IMMIGRATION debate rumbles on, some sections of the media in the UK have become obsessed in their coverage of the subject.

One place that appears to receive more coverage than most is the Lincolnshire market town of Boston, which has witnessed a significant rise in migration, particularly eastern European migration.

Journalists are frequent visitors to the town to discuss the impact migration has had on local people.

With tensions high, even the local media in the area are keen to find a voice that represents the local Bostonian populace and have found one in Dean Everitt.

Everitt is the man behind the collection of anti-immigration demonstrations held in Boston, Spalding and Wisbech and has received favourable press coverage, portraying him as just an ordinary bloke frustrated by the lack of jobs and decline of services brought on by immigration to his town.

The media who speak to Everitt ask him whether he or his campaign is racist, which of course he denies. However, there appears to be a lack of research into his background.

HOPE not Hate spent some time researching Everitt and found him to be every bit the racist, with links to both the BNP and UKIP.

We also discovered a rabid vein of homophobia topped off with levels of violent criminality and hatred for the police.

Boston first saw a BNP councillor elected onto its Borough Council in 2008 when David Owens was elected to represent the



Dean Everitt pictured with UKIP's Chris Pain

Fenside ward. The racist politics of Owens and the BNP appealed to Everitt and he began to appeal to his friends and family on his Facebook account, declaring the BNP is "The only party worth voting for, let's take out the trash and make England great again".

## BNP support

On General Election day in 2010, Everitt wrote: "Today could be a life changer, Vote BNP" and "Have just voted first time ever, BNP all the way". But despite his enthusiastic support Everitt was to be ultimately disappointed as the BNP failed to make any impact.

Over the next 18 months, Everitt posted large numbers of articles taken from the BNP website on his Facebook page and eventually in 2012 the local BNP organiser made an approach.



Everitt tired of the BNP as their influence and votes began to dwindle in the area and in 2013 he switched his allegiances to UKIP.

In March, Everitt gave an interview to a local community TV station and told them that UKIP was the only political party that could halt immigration, in particular the number of Bulgarians and Romanians he claimed were "coming here for benefits and a free life".

He also claimed to be working closely with UKIP

as he believed that "Britain was at breaking point with the sheer volume of Eastern Europeans coming here taking homes and jobs. Not one home has been built or one job created yet one million have been let in".

He called on people to support UKIP at the ballot box and this time wasn't disappointed as Lincolnshire County Council saw 16 UKIP councillors elected to become the official opposition in the chamber.

Everitt wasted no time in





Dean Everitt

6 May 2010 via

Today could be a life changer VOTE BNP and make england great again



Dean Everitt

6 May 2010

has just voted first time ever BNP ALL THE WAY

linking his anti-immigration campaign to UKIP, becoming close to a number of newly-elected councillors, including Alan Jesson, Bob McAuley and Chris Pain, who at that time was UKIP's East Midlands regional chairman as well as being the leader of the UKIP opposition on Lincolnshire County Council.

Just a few months later, many of these would find themselves thrown out of UKIP following a split within the local party. UKIP locally split in two, with Everitt supporting the losing side.

### Homophobia

One of the more disturbing things we discovered was Everitt's hatred of the gay community. He frequently uses the internet to post disgusting homophobic messages, with a number of posts openly advocating the execution and murder of gays.

The one thing that cannot be denied is that despite his protestations Everitt is an abject racist who has a burning hatred for eastern Europeans who have settled in the area.

There is such a large amount of racism on his Facebook profile we have selected just a few of the more notable posts.

In 2009 he wrote: "Christmas is coming and England's full of Polish crap, let's load them up on boats and planes and send the fuckers back".

November 2010 and Everitt wrote "Why are all the Polish in this country such arrogant ignorant bastards? Fuck off home ya wankers 88".

The number 88 is sometimes used by some

neo-Nazis as a substitute for "Heil Hitler" ("H" as the eighth letter of the alphabet).

Still in 2010 and Everitt proves he hates more than just the Eastern Europeans by posting: "Send the fucking rag heads home".

2011 and Everitt's hatred carried on at full pace: "I'm not a PC and smashing Polish peoples windows was my idea".

Later the same year, Everitt posted a number of disgusting messages following the death of five Lithuanian men killed in an explosion at an illegal vodka distillery in Boston.

"Well today's off to a happy note with the news there's five foreigners less in the town boom boom lmfaoo", he wrote.

"There's a new Lithuanian Vodka on sale in Boston called Ka Boom. It's guaranteed to blow yafuckin head off pmsl".

### Criminal hypocrite

One of the issues Everitt constantly refers to is the increase in crime due to immigration. What he fails to point out to those "concerned" locals who have embraced his cause is that Everitt is not adverse to breaking the law himself.

In November, he was found guilty of assault and was lucky to receive a suspended sentence after he attacked one of his neighbours with a baseball bat following a minor row.

This is not the first time Everitt has been before a judge. In 2010 Everitt was made to wear an electronic tag and was handed a court order after being found guilty of harassment.

# UKIP's Far Right Sugar Daddy?

by Simon Cressy



Bert Leech (far left) helping the England First Party

AS WE CONTINUE to monitor extremism, one name regularly crops up in far right circles: Bert Leech.

Albert Edward Leech is an elderly, Bedford-based businessman who has attempted to act as a political "sugar daddy" to a collection of far-right organisations over a number of years.

In March 2004, Leech donated £1,000 to the British National Party.

In 2007 he offered to fund deposits for 'Nationalist' candidates intending to stand in the 2010 General Election. Leech, along with two other unknown benefactors, made available a war chest of £40,000 to the following: BNP, British Peoples Party, The English Democrats, English Independence Party, Freedom Party, NF, England First Party and even UKIP. What is unclear is whether the offer was genuine or if indeed any candidate chose to make an approach to Leech.

In 2007 Leech attended the 40th anniversary meeting of the National Front held in a venue in west London. He was also photographed with a number of England First Party activists who were fighting a by-election in Milton Keynes.

### Power struggle

The following year saw him attend the 'Voice of Change' meeting held in Brinsley, Nottinghamshire, organised by Sadie Graham and her group of BNP rebels who attempted and failed to wrestle power away from Nick Griffin. Leech is thought to have donated £5,000 to their campaign.

Fast forward to 2013 and Leech attended the launch meeting of Andrew Brons' BNP splinter group, The British Democratic Party in the Leicestershire village of Queniborough.

In tandem with his support for the various dregs of the far right, Leech along with his close friend, former BNP activist Barry Taylor, established a hate-filled website entitled 'England Is Ours' which remains online to this day, despite its large volume of racism and anti-Semitic postings.

So with a comprehensive CV of far right extremism, we were surprised to find that Leech had become a UKIP committee member.

In November 2012, following an AGM that took place at Wymington Memorial Hall, Leech was voted onto the branch committee of mid-Bedfordshire UKIP.

We wonder if Leech has once again dipped his hands into his very deep pockets, this time with UKIP?



# Freedom Party goes



From Jeroen Bosch in Amsterdam for *Alert!* and Antifa-Net

GEERT WILDERS, leader and only member of the right wing populist Partij voor de Vrijheid (PVV/Freedom Party), is no great fan of transparency or democratic ideas. As a real dictator, *he* rules *his* party, using his fellow parliamentarians as staff members rather than as colleagues, sacking them at will.

Wilders has ordered his party to participate only in the two cities where it is currently represented, Almere and The Hague, in local elections in March 2014. So much does he need to stay in total control of his party, he deprives his supporters of the chance to vote for it in their own cities and towns. Wilders has to take part in Provincial elections, however, since members of the provincial councils elect the members of the Senate, where Wilders can exercise some power. He needs the seats but would rather do without all these elected people.

On the other hand, he has been losing domestic momentum, hardly being taken seriously anymore by the opposition in parliament, by the government or by the media. Wilders tried on several occasions to claw back the initiative, branding Islam a bigger problem than

the economic crisis and labelling it the worst blight to hit the Netherlands in the last century. Not, it should be noted, the 1940-45 Nazi occupation and the murder on 100,000 Dutch Jews in that period. Though his voters remain trustful and push the PVV to the top of the polls, Wilders needs controversy.

Also, his international image is not as bright as it was in 2008 after he launched his anti-Islam video clip *Fitna*. His book, *Marked for Death*, aimed at the US market, flopped as did his tour of Australia.

## Anti-immigration

Reacting, Wilders has shifted his focus to Europe and killed off the last taboo in post-Pim Fortuyn Dutch society by tripping around to meet Marine Le Pen of the Front National (FN) in France, the leadership of Vlaams Belang (VB) in Belgium, Roberto Maroni of Lega Nord in Italy, Jimmie Åkesson of the Swedish Democrats and Heinz-Christian Strache of the Freedom Party (FPÖ) in Austria. Wilders, who keeps on saying that he only co-operates on "shared values" like opposition to the EU and anti-immigration, called the talks with Lega Nord "hopeful", the meeting with the VB "fantastic" and the FPÖ's Strache "a very impressive man".



# European?

What a difference from the PVV's early years when Wilders vetoed contacts with these kinds of parties and the five (now four) PVV members in the European Parliament stayed out of any coalition!

But, now, he is looking for alliances to gain more seats in the 750-strong European Parliament in the May 2014 elections. If the right-wing populists manage to form a bloc after the elections (to do so requires at least 25 seats from seven different countries), they gain more funds, more speaking time, access to important commissions and might become more visible for their voters.

Inside the PVV there is mounting fear that its pro-Israeli faction will protest at this co-operation and Wilders has to tread carefully not to antagonise his US-based funders. Marine Le Pen is no stranger to making racist or antisemitic remarks, as in 2010 with her absurd comparison between Muslims praying in the street and the German occupation of France in WWII. Whether she will be prosecuted remains to be seen.

Will this mooted coalition work? Le Pen is, *au contraire* to Wilders, against a ban on building mosques and is also not in favour of a stop on immigration from Islamic countries. On the other hand,

he favours marriage for gays and lesbians, which Le Pen is adamantly against.

And then there is Nigel Farage of the British Eurosceptic UKIP who refuses to co-operate with Wilders because of his anti-Islamic ideas, such as a state ban on the Koran. Farage also takes a stand against the FN and VB for their historic baggage of old Nazis, Holocaust denial and antisemitism.

## Populist

Wilders, in his turn, thinks the British National Party, together with the Hungarian nazis of **Jobbik**, is too extreme. The Danish People's Party and the True Finns may lean towards UKIP but Wilders, who will not take a seat in the EU-parliament, and Le Pen are looking to weld them in as well.

Another problem is that the Danish People's Party, as well as the Lega Nord, is now in the European Freedom and Democracy coalition and rejects change. Also the Danes have threatened to opt out of co-operation with the Swedish Democrats if the Swedes glue themselves to the Wilders-Le Pen alliance. The newly-formed populist Alternative for Germany (AfD) is also wary of co-operating with Wilders.

In May, in Paris, VB MEP Philip Claeys launched a manifesto on behalf of the

European Freedom Alliance in which nine MEPs co-operate. In November, Claeys popped up again when, from Vienna, he confirmed a secret meeting between his party, the PVV and four other, none confirmed but also not hard to guess, European parties. Wilders denied being there, since this meeting was of the European Freedom Alliance, a pan-European party he is no longer interested in.

With the suggested realignments of the populist right looking increasingly like a dog's breakfast whizzing around on an ever-spinning plate, Wilders' big words about the "historic" coalition with FN, stating that it will "liberate the people from the European elite" and "defeat the monster from Brussels", look premature.

Even if Wilders and Le Pen do manage to form a coalition, they will still be small and relatively impotent without power. It is not without reason that Le Pen and Wilders failed to present any plans at their November press conference in The Hague. If they want to remove power from Brussels back to their own nations, they must influence their own governments, not the European Parliament.



# NPD leader Apfel quits as party faces ban

From Michael Klein for Antifa-Net in Berlin

HOLGER APFEL, leader of the nazi National Democratic Party (NPD), quit his post surprisingly on 19 December after just two years in office. While “burn-out” was given as the official reason, rumours swept the fascist scene that Apfel was under heavy pressure from opponents inside the party over allegations of serious misconduct, including sexual abuse.

Apfel will be succeeded by Udo Pastörs, the head of the NPD’s parliamentary group in Mecklenburg-West Pomerania. Pastörs is a notorious rabble-rouser who has been convicted for calling the Federal Republic of Germany a “Jewish Republic” and men of Turkish origin “sperm cannons”.

The internal crisis hits the party in an already difficult situation. In early December, state secretaries of the interior in all of Germany’s 16 federal states filed an application to the Federal Constitutional Court to declare the NPD unconstitutional and have it dissolved.

If the court accepts the evidence, the party will forfeit its financial assets and properties; its current representatives in two state parliaments and on several dozen local councils will lose their seats and it will not be allowed to maintain party structures and activities of any kind, or build successor organisations.

The latest application marks the end of a complex debate between the three constitutional bodies that are in a position to file such an application: the Federal government, the Federal parliament and the Federal Council, on whose behalf the secretaries of the interior have now acted.

To justify the call for banning the NPD, a huge collection of material of its racist and anti-semitic statements and aggressive opposition to democratic principles has been compiled. As a whole, the party is said to be in the tradition of Hitler’s NSDAP.

## Democracy

According to the judgments that declared the nazi Socialist Reich Party and the Communist Party of Germany



Former NPD leader  
Holger Apfel

illegal in the 1950s, the applicants have to prove that the particular party is aggressively opposed to the constitution and denies the fundamental principles of human rights and democracy.

A first attempt to ban the NPD was undertaken in 2001 but turned into a fiasco when the Federal Constitutional Court halted it because key parts of the evidence put forward to prove the unconstitutional character of the party had been produced by informants of the secret services. The secretaries of the interior have testified that no such material has been used in the application dossier but the next two years will show how well they have done.

The NPD portrays itself as being optimistic about the outcome of any legal proceedings. Peter Richter, a young lawyer and party member from the Saarland, is representing the party in court.

Politically, the NPD’s strategy is threefold:

- with reference to the European Stability Mechanism, it argues that Germany’s membership renders void

the democratic principles of decision making on a nation-state level, thus invalidating German legal proceedings

- in order to present itself as democratic, it also puts forward its demand for plebiscites that directly consult voters.

- it claims that banning a party is a further element of a development that reduces democratic freedoms and strengthens surveillance and state control on political issues.

The outcome of the legal proceedings is unpredictable. It is widely assumed that the Federal Constitutional Court will have to develop a new set of criteria for banning a political party. In addition, the NPD has said it will appeal to the European Court of Human Rights if it is prohibited in Germany.

This latter court has set up strict hurdles in previous cases. However, the European Court of Human Rights is not a formal legal authority and if the German court declares the NPD unconstitutional, the party will cease to exist in a formal sense.

While the NPD needs to invest huge resources in the legal proceedings



## Slovakia

## Far-right leader wins regional poll

Source: *The Slovak Spectator*

VOTERS IN SLOVAKIA have elected right-wing extremist Marian Kotleba to lead the self-governing region of Banská Bystrica. Kotleba, of the People's Party – Our Slovakia (LSNS), picked up 55.6 percent in a second round run-off and defeated Vladimír Manka, who was backed by Smer (Social Democrats) and a broad alliance that included the Greens and which collected 44.3 percent.

Social Democrat prime minister Robert Fico blamed right-wing parties for Kotleba's success in the first-round, arguing that they were unable to select a strong enough candidate to

face Kotleba.

Kotleba, originally a secondary school teacher, is well known on the margins of the Slovak political scene. He founded and led Slovenská Pospolitost (Slovak Togetherness), a far-right political party, which was later banned by the interior ministry. He has frequently organised and participated in anti-Roma demonstrations and marches commemorating the Nazi-allied wartime Slovak state and its president Jozef Tiso.

He has also been detained and charged repeatedly for crimes including racial defamation.



in the coming months it also faces severe internal problems. The course of "serious radicalism" proclaimed by the now former leader Apfel has not produced the promised results. On the contrary, the party has lost more than 1,300 of its 7,000 members, relations with many nazi activists outside the party are at a low ebb and recent election results have been poor. In addition, financial resources coming from the state have been delayed, worsening the already heavy indebtedness of the party as a result of filing fake donation records.

2014 will also see regional elections in Saxony where the NPD has had MPs for nearly eight years. While the Eurosceptic nationalist party, Alternative for Germany, polled quite well in Saxony, the NPD is heavily emphasising anti-refugee campaigning. By doing so, the NPD took between five and ten percent in some local areas in September's national elections. There are also elections in Brandenburg and Thuringia where the NPD is doing grassroots activities and has been distributing free papers for years. ●

## Denmark

## Populists profit in local polls

From Anne Jessen for *Demos* in Copenhagen

LOCAL ELECTIONS in Denmark in November proved successful for the right-wing populist Danish People's Party (DPP) which boosted its share of the vote from the 8.1 % it won in 2009 to 10.1%, including seats in Aarhus and Copenhagen.

In its election campaign, the DPP focused on social themes like better conditions for the elderly, schools policy and unemployment. Its pet "foreigner-question" was not top of its agenda, however.

Meanwhile, the country's new nazi party – the Danskernes Parti (DP) – of Daniel Carlsen, a former member of the Danish National Socialist Movement (DNSB), fielded candidates in several cities and got 6,782 votes in total.

This not a big vote but enough to enable the DP to pocket more than 100,000 Dkr (£11,000) in state financial support. This is funding that will be used by the nazis to finance their future political campaigns.



# SERBIA No left, no centre, just different shades of right

From Daško Milinovic in Novi Sad

IN THE COURSE of more than 30 years of permanent crisis, Serbia has fallen victim to right-wing ideologies and does not look like recovering anytime soon.

After the violent destruction of socialist Yugoslavia, Serbia led and failed in three wars for a nationalist lost cause. This constant state of emergency and war has given rise to vicious populist, ethno-nationalist ideologies and movements and now, even in a time of relative peace, the country is unable to find its way out of myth-based nationalism.

The whole political spectrum is divided into many different shades and variations, all of them right-wing. The other side of the political fence is bereft. No viable or potent left-wing political organisation or movement has been able to take root in Serbia since the dissolution of the Communist League of Yugoslavia in 1989.

Power, and the seemingly endless potential of the right-wing, lies in the fact that the new generation, those

born in the times of war and bombardment, are now the ones who vote and decide.

86% of people under 30 have *never* travelled anywhere outside Serbia and have no intention of doing so. Isolation and fear of the outside world has given birth to the most rampant xenophobia in today's Europe.

Polls and statistics are shocking. Hatred and intolerance towards anything that is not white, Serbian, Orthodox Christian and heterosexual is frighteningly strong. Incredibly, it is the young people of Serbia who are the most conservative element in Serbian society.

## Openly fascist

Tightly gripping power at all levels is the Serbian Progressive Party (SNS), a party that evolved straight out of the Serbian Radical Party (SRS), the most violent and openly fascist political group in 1990s Serbia. It was the generator of paramilitaries in all the brutal wars in the Balkans and its political programme



was backed by a galaxy of right-wing extremists including the likes of Jean-Marie Le Pen, John Tyndall, Eduard Limonov, Vladimir Zhirinovski, Jörg Haider and Franz Schönhuber, all of whom were guests of the SRS in Belgrade while international sanctions were in place.

All of the key people in the SRS, except for Vojislav Seselj – on trial in the Hague Tribunal for war crimes – are now running Serbia while its

successor, the SNS, tries to cut off or hide its connections to smaller, violent fascist street gangs and football hooligans and cleans up its act as it now reinvents itself with a pro-EU platform.

The fall of Slobodan Milosevic's regime in 2000 created even more space on the right and hundreds of groups and parties moved to fill it with their "own brand" fascist ideas.

Groups like Obraz, 1389 and Nashi emerged with a

## SERBIA KEY FACTS

### Extreme right-wing organizations

■ **OBRAZ (Honour)** Rebranded last year as Srbski Obraz, after the (first and only) court prohibition of a right-wing group. Its members are fanatical Orthodox Christian nationalists. The group has strong support from some elders of the Serbian Orthodox Church. Infamous for their anti-gay rhetoric and actions.

■ **1389** A pro-Russian, Orthodox Christian street gang. Re-emerged as a political party to win council seats in Belgrade with the help

of the Serbian Progressive Party. Its latest publicity stunts include opening "Open Air Serbian nationalist gyms" in Belgrade parks.

■ **NASHI (Ours)** Modelled on the youth wing of Vladimir Putin's party United Russia, this Russophile band of petty criminals is used to defame liberal NGOs and individuals and to push pro-Chetnik (wartime nationalist, monarchist resistance) and historical revisionist propaganda to Serbian youth.

■ **DVERI (The Gates of Heaven)** Ultra-conservative Serbian



Orthodox youth who gathered on Thursdays at Belgrade's Faculty of Mechanics to attend church-

sponsored lectures on politics formed this political party. It runs on a clerical-fascist platform and



mishmash of ideas plucked from traditional pre-WWII Serbian clerical fascism based on works of Dimitrije Ljotic, a Nazi collaborator and the father of self-described "authentic" Serbian fascist thought.



Serbian three finger nationalist salute

Also present are internationally active Hitlerite groups like Blood&Honour and Combat 18. They have been active in Serbia since the mid-1990s and their older members took part in all the Balkan wars, serving in various paramilitary formations, in the ranks of the Army or in the police and security forces.

Some groups have changed their appetites and re-emerged as so-called political parties, few of them making it

into national parliament but lots entering local councils. It is not uncommon for a known fascist thug or football hooligan to appear as an MP or councillor.

### Street hooligans

The key rallying points and events for the whole Serbian right are causes like the festering nationalist issue of Kosovo or LGBT rights. The biggest mass recruitment of street-active fascists happened in response to the Albanian pogrom of Kosovo Serbs in March 2004 when thousands of nazi hooligans wrought havoc on the streets of all the bigger Serbian cities, burning the Belgrade and Nis mosques and destroying houses and businesses owned by any "suspicious" non-Serbs.

Roma people were attacked and pogroms were attempted at their settlements.

A Belgrade Gay Pride Parade has been scheduled many times in the last 10 years but has actually taken place only once under a heavy, siege-like, police presence.

Although the police raid fascist groups and court orders are handed out to stop their operations, prosecutions, trials and convictions of their members for their criminal behaviour are seldom and sentences usually minimal.

The main reason for this lies in the fact that a host of fascist and extremist criminals are working for the

secret services. How the state structures manipulate the hate-filled mob for creating chaos and unrest when it suits them is a public secret. The most famous instance of this was the one in which the then government-fomented riots in the streets of Belgrade after Kosovo declared its independence in 2008.

Western embassies were attacked and US, German and Croatian embassies were sacked and burned. The police, supposed to protect these sites, were withdrawn

and nobody was held accountable.

On the bright side, an anti-fascist resistance has finally started to appear. Cities like Novi Sad now have active, militant anti-fascist groups which have opposed all fascist organisations with some success for more than 13 years. Though left to their own devices, Serbian anti-fascists organise and fight back energetically against the fascist gangs and their supporters in police, army, local and government.

### MAP



**Kanjiza:** Annual EMI Tabor camp by Hungarian fascists was held here for almost 10 years until actions by Serbian and Hungarian anti-fascists stopped it last year.

**Novi Sad:** The biggest mass mobilization of anti-fascists to stop the fascist "Serbian march" happened in Novi Sad on 7 October 2007 when more than 5,000 people confronted the nazis and blocked their march.

**Belgrade:** For almost 30 years, various fascist organisations backed by football hooligan mobs have ruled the streets of the Serbian capital, organising marches and demonstrations and disrupting anything they dislike.

**Jagodina:** A small central Serbian town ruled by a populist ultra right-wing mayor and declared a "gay-free town". The birthplace of the Serbian nazi Blood&Honour group.

**Kosovska Mitrovica:** The centre of Serbian-controlled Northern Kosovo. A training ground for fascist paramilitaries and a right-wing wonderland. All of the fascist groups are present and, to some degree, well armed there.

has entered local councils in the cities of Novi Sad and Cacak.

■ **SRBSKA AKCIJA (Serbian Action)** Formed after the collapse of Obraz and Nacionalni Stroj, it gathers the more classically Nazi-leaning members of Obraz. It is an openly Serbian national-socialist group active in some bigger cities, recruiting skinheads and trying to attract veterans of the B&H/C18 scene.

■ **BLOOD & HONOUR / COMBAT 18** Strongly connected to British, Russian, some German and some Czech and Slovak nazis.

Active since 1995 on basic and standard B&H principles set by the UK branch of B&H. Publishes fanzines, stickers and graffiti and is composed of old boneheads and hooligans. Mostly active in Republika Srpska (the Serbian entity in Bosnia and Herzegovina) and northern Kosovo.

■ **HVIM (64 counties movement)** Hungarian irredentist fascist group seeking a Greater Hungary, active in Vojvodina. As in Romania and Slovakia, these Jobbik-backed revanchists are also active in the anti-Roma movement.



# Nelson Mandela a legend and a hero

From Elisabeth Pop and Hazel Nolan



LAST MONTH the world lost a true legend as Nelson Mandela passed away after a long fight against illness. HOPE not hate supporters, like millions of others around the world, were overwhelmed by feelings of sadness and joy as we mourned the loss of an extraordinary man and celebrated his incredible achievements in life.

He was a man like no other. His journey of defiance in the face of injustice defined the story of apartheid in South Africa. Yet it was his ability to forgive his opponents, and promote peace, which led his nation to democracy and inspired people across the world in their own struggles against racism and inequality.

Words like 'great' and 'hero' are bandied about all too frequently, but for Mandela he was these and much more.

To mark his sad death, we opened a book of condolence to give our supporters the opportunity to make their own fitting tribute. Over 2,400 did just that and their messages beautifully expressed the profound gratitude we all feel for the gift of Nelson Mandela's time with us. It was delivered to the South African Embassy and accepted by the South African High Commissioner, who was extremely appreciative of your kind words.

Now, we must take time from our remembrances to consider how we can build a future worthy of this great man's memory. Our duty is clear, and for

guidance we must look no further than the words of Mandela himself: *"Our work is for freedom for all ... We say tonight, after nearly 90 years of life, it is time for new hands to lift the burdens. It is in your hands now."*

The loss of one man has left a hole in the fight for equality and justice that must be filled by millions. It's up to those of us who remain to continue Mandela's legacy, and for you and me that work starts right here at home.

We commemorate him in our continued fight for hope, love, tolerance and acceptance. Together, we will realise the just world he always believed possible, and that will be our final gift to honour his service and sacrifice. ●





## What our supporters said:

*"Nelson Mandela was the man with a huge smile which touched everyone. He was an inspiration to many for his determination, empathy and ability to reach out to everyone. Goodbye and thank you"*  
CHRIS, Shrewsbury

*"His ability to forgive and to use his compassion, intelligence, vision and personal strength to take South Africa through such troubled times to a new future was amazing. I cried when I heard the news of his death and cried again when I saw so many people, black and white, singing and dancing together on the streets to celebrate his life. Goodbye Madiba – you were a very special person in all our hearts."*  
LESLIE, Swansea

*"Nelson Mandela has been a model, an inspiration. I'm devastated that he has died but feel privileged to have lived when this great man lived. Let's embrace his resilience and his dignity and continue his good work for justice, equality and humanity."*  
SANDRA, London

*"A great man with the rare quality of humility. Proof that change for the better can happen. A very sad loss."*  
ROGER, Bromley

*"I cried when he finally walked free, after years of boycotts and demonstrations. I cry today – and hope that the world leaders may follow his example."*  
CAROLANNE, Troon

*"Unsurpassed as a world leader. Inspirational, extraordinary and brilliant. Carrying on the fight against injustice (in whatever form it takes), challenging division, hate and repression is the best way we can honour him. Rest in peace."*  
LYNN, Liverpool

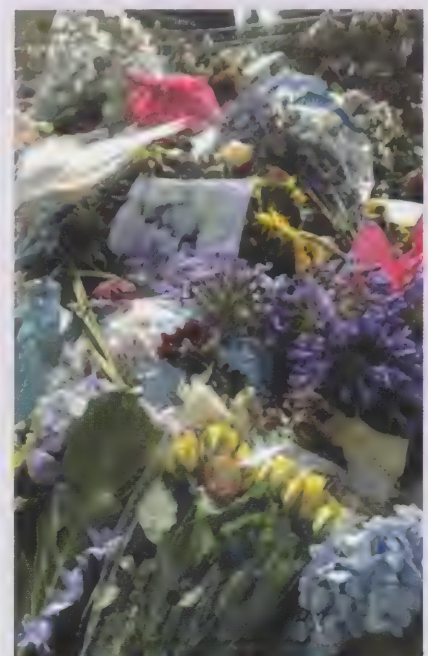
*"My father stood outside South Africa house to demonstrate against his imprisonment in the 60s and that was when, as a young girl, I learned to fight against injustice, but peacefully. He touched us all by his great spirit of love, hope and forgiveness. Let's all continue to learn from him, so we can improve the world together. Eternal peace for Nelson Mandela."*  
CLARE, Nailsea

*"I'm 72 years old, and he is the greatest human being that I have known. His humanity should be copied by all politicians – now and to come. The world has been a better place for having you among us. Rest in peace Madiba."*  
MARIE-JO, Mauritius

## Mirror columnist Ros Wynne-Jones attended Nelson Mandela's funeral. She sent us this report:

"Today, on behalf of the HOPE not hate movement, I took some yellow roses pinned with a HOPE not hate badge to Nelson Mandela's home in Houghton, Johannesburg where he lived the last years of his life. Outside his house there is a carpet of flowers very reminiscent of those outside Kensington Palace when Diana died. I saw two women who didn't know each other hugging each other – Oma was a black woman who worked in the police service and Sandi a white woman, a travel writer. They come from completely different lives – but Mandela meant the same thing to each of them. He made it possible for one to hug each other.

I pinned the flowers with a HOPE not hate badge as a message to other people, of solidarity from British people – and to show the work of his legacy continues not just in South Africa but wherever people seek to divide different races and stop them doing what Oma and Sandi did spontaneously today. It is a gesture that stands alongside the Book of Condolences that HOPE not hate organised, British people standing shoulder to shoulder with South Africans as they wait for Madiba to be buried on Sunday.





# Anelka, *la quenelle* and the antisemite that created it

By our European editor, Graeme Atkinson

WHEN FORMER French international Nicolas Anelka celebrated a goal in West Bromwich Albion's 3-3 draw with West Ham United on 28 December with the hand gesture known as the *quenelle*, he not only imported a raging controversy from France but exposed the failure of football as a sport to get to grips with hate prejudice. The *quenelle*, also labelled "a Nazi salute in reverse" and an expression of "antisemitism", means "scoop" or "dumpling" in French and is performed by holding one arm straight at one's side while touching that same arm's shoulder with the opposite hand.

Anelka, 34, is not the only Premier League player to have used or backed the gesture. Samir Nasri, of Manchester City, (who has since apologised) and Liverpool defender Mamadou Sakho have been snapped doing it and Hull City forward Yannick Sagbo and Queens Park Rangers defender Benoit Assou-Ekotto have unashamedly supported Anelka.

Shamefully their clubs have taken no action and now the full import of the gesture has become known in the UK, this quartet will no longer have any excuse for any repetition. Anelka's manager, Keith Downing, lamely described Anelka's action as "dedicated to a French comedian" and dismissed the accusations surrounding it as "absolute rubbish". The Premier League and the FA, meanwhile, have said almost nothing.

Opinion in France, where the West Brom-West Ham match was screened live and where racists and antisemites are frequently pictured performing the *quenelle* in front of synagogues and other offensive locations, begged to differ. Valerie Fourneyron, the French sports minister, blasted Anelka's match day stunt as "a shocking, disgusting provocation", adding: "There is no place for antisemitism and incitement to hatred on the football pitch."

Anelka has now agreed to desist from using the *quenelle* gesture when celebrating his rare goals but what is the significance of this foul gesture and

of its inventor, the French "comedian", Dieudonné M'Bala M'Bala, to whom the footballer boasts of dedicating it? Dieudonné is a notorious French Jew-baiter. A man of convictions – he has several for offences including defamation, causing offence, antisemitism and inciting racial hatred and has been fined a total of £53,400 – he revels in his anti-Jewish views, inventing the *quenelle* in 2009 when he was a candidate for the so-called anti-Zionist Party – formed together with Front National (FN) activist Alain Soral – in the European elections.

## On trial

Born in 1966 to Cameroonian and Breton parents, Dieudonné was originally on the left, standing against FN luminary Marie-France Stirbois in 1997. Since 2002, however, he has moved into the antisemitic underworld of French politics, and become increasingly strident in his antisemitism, denying the Holocaust, blaming Jews for the slave trade and more generally for the oppression of the Black and Arab peoples.

Dieudonné was briefly half of a comedy double act with Jewish comic, Elie Semoun. He also starred in movies, perhaps most notably for British audiences, in *Asterix and Obelix: Mission Cleopatra* in 2002. Pursuing a solo career on stage, his one-man shows have been noted for their antisemitic vitriol, leading to a string of prosecutions and fines. Perhaps his most infamous antisemitic provocation came in 2008 when veteran French Holocaust denier, Robert Faurisson, was given a "heroism" award presented by one of Dieudonné's assistants dressed as a concentration camp inmate complete with Yellow Star.

At the end of 2009, when he went on trial for awarding the prize to Faurisson, his appearance in court attracted a galaxy of extremists, including such luminaries of the Holocaust denial scene as the Australian Lady Michelle Renouf and the British nazi Peter Rushton. Despite being found guilty, Dieudonné




Dieudonné M'Bala M'Bala with Nicolas Anelka (right)

and Faurisson appeared together in a video mocking the Holocaust, the commemoration of which Dieudonné denounces as "memorial pornography".


Dieudonné has also allowed his theatre in Paris' eleventh *arrondissement* to be used by FN activists and Tribu Ka, a black nationalist group, whose members marched through a mainly Jewish neighbourhood in Paris, in 2006, chanting "Death to the Jews!" The group was subsequently banned and its leader, Stelio Capo Chichi, jailed. Capo Chichi acquired further notoriety during the trial of the killers of Ilan Halimi, a young French Jew who was kidnapped and tortured to death, when he sent threatening e-mails to a range of Jewish organisations. Dieudonné used the murder as material for his sick stage show.

Dieudonné enjoys a close relationship with former FN leader Jean-Marie Le Pen who is godfather to his third child. In 2010, another of Dieudonné's children was baptised by antisemitic Roman Catholic fundamentalist Bishop Richard Williamson. He has also followed the well-trodden path of Western Holocaust deniers and travelled to Iran, meeting with former President Mohammed Ahmadinejad. Dieudonné subsequently hailed Iran as "a place where anti-Zionists can meet and communicate and develop".





# TRANSPORT TUESDAY



On Tuesday 20 May HOPE not hate will be making one final push to turn out the anti-racist vote ahead of the European and local elections. On this one day we will be hoping to leaflet as least 300 train and tube stations and other transport interchanges across the country. With our target of putting out 500,000 leaflets in one day, it will be the biggest single anti-fascist day of action in British history.

To make this happen, we are asking people and organisations to commit to taking a lead at their local station or public place. We will then encourage our individual supporters in your locality to join you on the day.



## PLEASE COMMIT TO HOSTING AN EVENT IN YOUR AREA

Station of choice

Name/organisation

Email

Address

Postcode

Telephone number

Promoted, published and printed by HOPE not hate (Ltd), PO Box 67476, London NW3 9RF

**SIGN UP TO TRANSPORT  
TUESDAY AND HELP TURN  
OUT THE ANTI-RACIST VOTE**

**WWW.HOPENOTHATE.ORG.UK**





# The HOPE not hate campaign

Nick Lowles outlines the HOPE not hate election campaign in 2014

The 2014 elections could produce a massive sea-change in British politics.

While the British National

Party (BNP) appears to be in political decline, we are witnessing the rising threat of the United Kingdom Independence Party (UKIP) and its increasing use of anti-immigrant and anti-multicultural language.

While HOPE not hate does not have an organisational line on membership of the European Union and it does not oppose UKIP as a political party, we are deeply concerned with its increasing use of right wing anti-migrant and anti-multiculturalist language which poisons the wider discourse on the issue, gives encouragement to more open racism at a local and community level and, perhaps more worryingly, pushes the mainstream parties to the right on this issue.

Most pollsters and analysts predict that UKIP will top the poll in next May's European elections and, coming just 11 months before a General Election, there is a real danger that their success will lead to the mainstream parties adopting more harsher policies on immigration, multiculturalism and integration in order to appeal to the UKIP voter. The recent Home Office 'Go Home' advances and highly publicised 'random' spotchecks at London stations show that this drift to the right is already beginning.

On an international level, a strong vote for UKIP must be seen in the context of a rightward shift across Europe. The Open Society Foundation estimate that xenophobic and right wing populist parties could win up to 25% of the EU vote. The Front National could well finish second to the Conservatives in France; Geert Wilders is leading in opinion polls in the Netherlands; Greece's Golden Dawn and Sweden's Swedish Democrats could

*“With UKIP posing a really serious threat, the incessant anti-immigrant rhetoric in the tabloids and the reluctance of the main parties to take on this racism it is going to be left to groups like HOPE not hate to lead the fight back.”*

both top 10% in their respective countries; and in Hungary, we have a ruling party which is doing its utmost to dismantle democracy, to say nothing of the threat from Jobbik.

There is a real danger that there will be a fundamental shift to the right within the European Parliament and, with its increased powers will have an impact on social justice and equality legislation and programmes across Europe.

## Fight back

We should also not discount the BNP totally. Although they are struggling to remain a properly functioning national political party, we do expect them to stand a full slate in the European elections. We also expect them to focus most of their energy in the North West, where Nick Griffin needs just 7% of the vote to retain his European seat.

The fledgling British Democratic Party, a split from the BNP, will stand candidates in local council elections, as will the National Front.

UKIP will also pose a serious threat in local council elections, especially in Havering, Barking & Dagenham, Bexley and some of the Kent and Essex councils. With all-out elections in London, we believe that UKIP could win a considerable number of councillors in these east London and south east London boroughs. Indeed, it is Farage's stated intention to use the European elections to expand their base in local politics and use this as a springboard for developing a more serious challenge in the 2015 General election.

## The 2014 HOPE not hate campaign

### 1) Community leaflets

From January 2014 we will begin producing quarterly community newsletters for the 20 areas of the country where we intend to work intensively over the next few years.

These newsletters will be produced by our local groups, promote positive shared identities within those local communities and address and answer local issues which divide communities.

### 2) 2014 election newspapers

In the run-up to the 2014 elections we will produce 30 editions of an election newspaper, each customised to a local area. Several other areas will have localised leaflets.

We will offer national and regional unions the opportunity to have their own customised newspaper for their members. This will allow them to mix a general anti-racist and anti-fascist message while also addressing issues of concern to their own members.

We will call a national campaign weekend for 2/3 May with our target of 60 different events around the country on the same day.

### 3) Digital engagement and rebuttal unit

The 2014 election will see a large expansion of our online presence. We are establishing a 'Digital engagement and rebuttal unit' to provide a vocal and rapid response to political parties seeking to adopt anti-immigrant rhetoric and messaging. The project will use social media and

UKIP THREAT:  
Most pollsters and  
analysts predict  
that UKIP will top  
the poll in next  
May's European  
elections.



Sign  
up  
to



# in 2014



new media to amplify a positive message, rebut negative messaging and mobilise voters.

Our rapid rebuttal will seek to quickly come back on false statements, hold politicians and journalists to account for their statistics and language, and through advertising on social media attempt to by-pass hostile media outlets and reach the public directly.

Through targeted online advertising we aim to get our message directly to millions of people.

#### 4) Voter Registration

We will launch a Voter Registration initiative to engage and mobilise marginalised communities in the political process and encourage higher turnout in elections. We will pilot two initiatives which we believe will make a significant difference:

**a) Souls to the Polls:** Based on an initiative widely used in the United States, 'Souls to the Polls' will see us partner with faith organisations to reach and mobilise marginalised communities in London.

We will produce tailored leaflets for different faith communities.

**b) Campus Call-Out:** We will organise a voter mobilisation campaign aimed at students in

further and higher education. We will hold a week of action in early March to push this campaign on campus.

#### 5) Local Elections

We will produce local leaflets for distribution in local council wards where there is a real threat in far-right or xenophobic candidates winning council seats. We will also produce generic leaflets focusing on the BNP, UKIP, BDP and the National Front.

#### 6) Transport Tuesday

On Tuesday, 20 May we will organise the distribution of 500,000 leaflets at several hundred stations and transport interchanges across the country.

Our campaign will be backed up by regular research publications and bulletins giving background on parties, candidates and issues. In late January, we welcome back Carlos Saavedra and his colleague, Kate Werning, for a two-week training and speaking tour, and in March we will be holding another round of HOPE not hate meetings across the country.

The 2014 election campaign will be our biggest to date. And, given the incessant racism of the media and the use of anti-immigrant rhetoric from UKIP, it needs to be.

## Campaign Diary

18-19 Jan	Training weekend
1-2 Feb	Campaign weekend
1-3 Feb	Voter registration drive
24 Feb	A fortnight of HnH meetings across the country
3-7 Mar	Campus call-out week
8 Mar	International women's day
22 Mar	National anti-racism march and rally
5-6 Apr	Campaign weekend
3-4 May	National campaign weekend
9-11 May	Souls to the Polls faith initiative
17-18 May	Super 48
20 May	Transport Tuesday
22 May	Election Day



**IF YOU WANT TO TAKE A STAND AGAINST RACISM AND DEFEND OUR MULTICULTURAL AND DIVERSE BRITAIN, THEN PLEASE DO GET INVOLVED EMAIL [OFFICE@HOPENOTHATE.ORG.UK](mailto:OFFICE@HOPENOTHATE.ORG.UK)**



# Long Walk To Freedom

The death of Nelson Mandela at the age of 95 has lent added poignancy to the release of a *Long Walk To Freedom*, a film chronicling his life and struggles against apartheid. *Dave Porter* interviews director Justin Chadwick and others involved in the film.



**L**ong Walk To Freedom, which is released in the New Year, has been much heralded as a gritty and warts-and-all portrayal of the leader of the ANC. Mandela is played in the film by Idris Elba and boasts a script from award-winning screenwriter William Nicholson.

But the film has been a long time in the making – Nicholson's script, which is based on Mandela's autobiography, took 16 years to bring together and underwent 34 revisions. Both Anant Singh, producer, and director, Justin Chadwick, felt they had to make sure every detail in the film had to be authentic, whether that meant employing people from Robben Island as extras or making sure that Elba's accent was pitch perfect.

Chadwick states: "The Nelson Mandela

Foundation has done a formidable job in cataloguing that period of history and allowed me open access to it. I've viewed very shocking footage that has been broadcast, but also material that has never been seen, such as uncut interviews with Winnie and Madiba.

"Because his autobiography is a very sprawling book, one could make a 24-part mini-series and still not do it justice. I wanted this to be a cinematic experience to take place in one viewing, so I believed it needed a point of view rather than an extended story from him as a little boy to being an old man. It was really through those personal conversations that I was able to get the emotion into the story."

The film traverses the whole of Mandela's life, from his early upbringing

in the Transkei, though his roguish youth and his political awakening and subsequent jailing.

Chadwick added: "Mandela's life was a rollercoaster, both before he went to prison, while he was in prison – his personal heartache at being torn away from his family – and after he was released when as a relatively old man he had to face a very violent time in South African history

"But it's so much more than just the Mandela family story, it's about 'the struggle' and this is still very present in everybody's lives today. You feel it when you're on those streets with the people we were working with, you feel it from the crew – the struggle is still ongoing and this film has to be worthy of those people."



For Singh, as a third generation of Indian descent born in South Africa who was classed as a 'non-white' citizen by the apartheid government, this was very much a political as well as a personal project.

He says: "Madiba was that icon for everyone in that struggle and when I started making movies I believed

whom gave their lives, or at the least a large portion of it.

"But one can't let that weigh on you too much because then one is unable to create the drama. One ends up creating something else, which is like a documentary."

Much of the story in the film is taken up with the relationship between

was to say something original.

He said: "Nobody knows anything about his life with his first wife Evelyn. His life with Winnie is more documented, and we have highlighted that they had a very traumatic life in those early years and we've tried to give the world a very introspective look in the film, but equally to put the film on a canvas that's fitting of Mandela's epic journey. Mandela is a myth in many ways and I think transformed the myth to reality."

The story of how Mandela came to write his autobiography and how it was published is worthy of a film in itself, full of intrigue and drama as it is.

Ahmed Kathrada was one of the original seven political prisoners who were sentenced alongside Mandela in the Rivonia Trial. He said that Mandela wrote an early draft of *Long Walk to Freedom* in Robben Island which had to be smuggled out.

He explains: "When Madiba turned 60 and we had been in prison for 10 years, we thought that the time had come for us to make a political statement and that getting him to write his autobiography would be the way. This was kept a secret even from ANC people, except those of us who were directly involved.

"The process was that he would write whatever he could and give it to me for my comments, which I would write in the margin, and then pass on to Walter Sisulu for his comments. Then, with our comments, Madiba would write the final version and send it to Mac Maharaj who – in miniscule writing – reduced 600 pages to 50 double-sided pages."

As he was nearing completing his 12-year sentence, Maharaj was given the job of smuggling the manuscript off the Island and making sure it made its way to London. The plan was that when it had safely arrived, a postcard could be sent to Robben Island giving a coded message for any originals kept there to be destroyed. These had been compressed into small plastic containers and buried in the garden.

Kathrada added: "We thought we were safe and didn't destroy it, but when the prison authorities built a wall through the garden we hastily managed to retrieve and destroy some of the notes, but the rest was confiscated and our punishment was a four-year deprivation of studies for writing this illegal document."

Singh says that Idris Elba, was chosen partly for his role in the Rwandan genocide film, *Sometimes in April*, but also because he "has a stature and a presence like Madiba".

He said: "There was no one else we felt who could actually pull it off." ●



that the story of this liberation was so profound it had to be told."

Singh met Mandela through a mutual friend, the prominent anti-apartheid activist, Fatima Meer (who wrote the Mandela biography, *Higher than Hope*). In fact, he got to meet the anti-apartheid leader just six weeks after he got out of prison.

"What struck me was his humility, his knowledge of everything, and most notably his desire to know my point of view. He made everything so easy. Here you are with a person who you've been in awe of all your life, but you feel like you're talking to a friend. That was the day that my relationship with him began," he said.

William Nicholson initially turned down the idea of writing the screenplay when approached by Singh, as he felt the job should go to a South African writer.

He explained: "In some ways, it was very intimidating. I felt an enormous sense of responsibility. It's a very important story and it's a true story that I had to tell right. On the other hand, if one worries too much about the responsibility one could end up not telling the story in the best way possible. One becomes so terrified of offending, or leaving something out, or misrepresenting any or all of the people who lived through this period, some of

Nelson Mandela and his wife Winnie, and Nicholson said it was this element which makes the film more human and appealing to an audience without losing its political edge.

Williams stated: "Mandela is a man who didn't originally want to be politically engaged. He just wanted to make a success of his life, but found himself drawn into a political struggle. The further he was drawn in, the more he realised he had a lot to lose. We watch him going through so many changes: first of all, absolutely abiding by the ANC commitment to non-violence, then realising that that isn't going to work and that violence is the only way forward."

Chadwick talked to many people who knew Mandela and Winnie at the time, adding: "Madiba was a young man on fire, and it was as if two forces came together. The photographs show a radiant couple and it must have been a true, passionate love. I think the great tragedy was when he came out of prison to find that she was no longer the woman with whom he had fallen in love. She had lived through war on the streets."

Singh says that the major difficulty with producing a film about Nelson Mandela is that he is such a huge figure that "everybody believes they know something about Madiba", so the trick



# CELEBRATING 10 YEARS OF HOPE



Founded in 2004 as an antidote to the hate promoted by the BNP, HOPE not hate celebrates our 10th anniversary in 2014. To help us celebrate this fantastic anniversary *Thompson's Solicitors* have sponsored our 2014 calendar, which celebrates each year of our campaign to undermine the BNP at the ballot box.



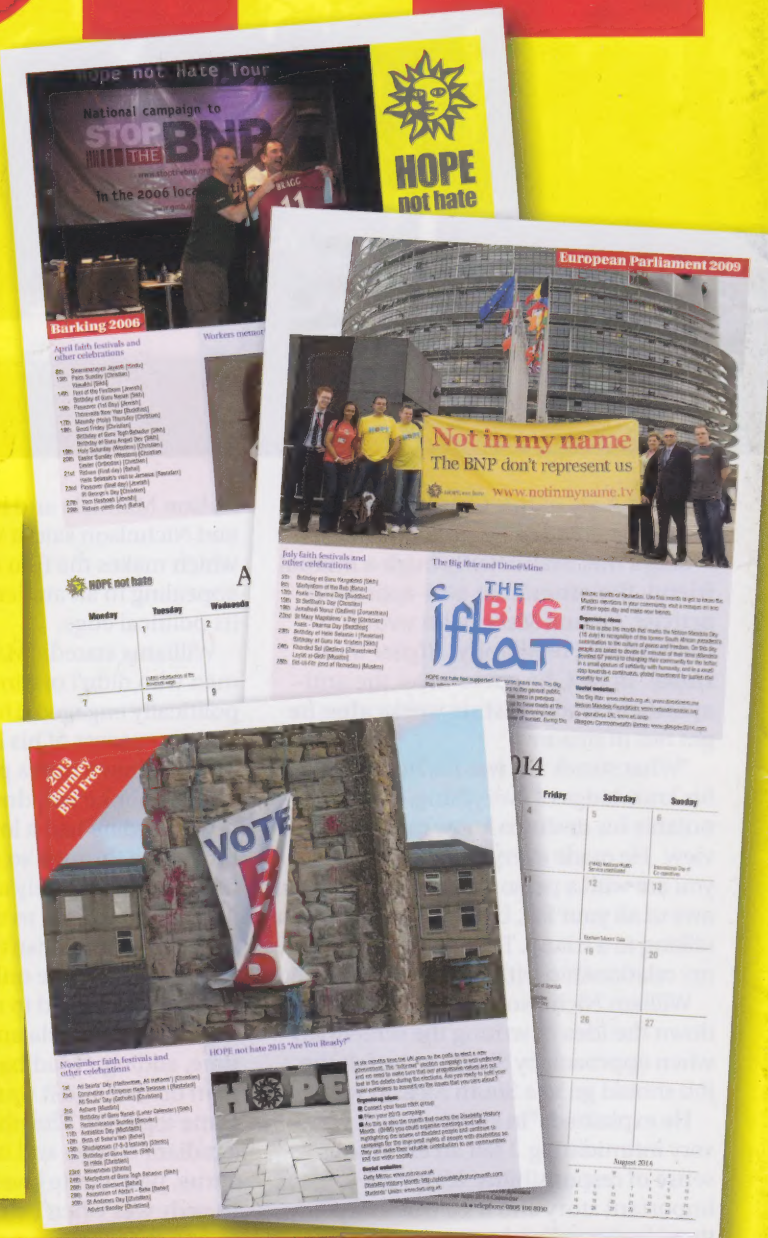
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